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THE PRESS AND POETRY  
OF MODERN PERSIA



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# مِلّٰلِیْ نَظَرِ الدِّیْنِ

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بیموکلر سوزل ۱ - سسوق ایستون نوروزی و با آغلیک نور لاری اوزک آغری اقام اودی باسور مان  
 ۲ - شنگلی ایشلیک نوکلر چور و ک و با پیدر با ی شنگر عایان اوزک کرکلی شمسین سوز آرنار  
 ۳ - سسوق قید با ش

Superstitious veneration of a *Mulla*

(From *Milla Najrud-Din*, No. 36, Oct. 2, 1907, *Caucasian Turkish illustrated comic weekly*, published at Tiflis)

THE  
PRESS AND POETRY  
OF  
MODERN PERSIA

PARTLY BASED ON THE MANUSCRIPT WORK  
OF  
MIRZĀ MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ KHĀN "TARBIYAT"  
OF TABRĪZ

11972

by

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تمنای مخصوص از قارئین ایرانی *At end*



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## ERRATUM

On p. 294, l. 20, second half, read :—

وزیر محترم عنوان پرستد



## THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THIS book treats of two different though kindred subjects, the Persian Press, more particularly Persian Journalism, and the political and patriotic poetry of Modern Persia; in other words, with two aspects of Persian literary activity in recent years, especially since the Proclamation of the Constitution in 1906. It falls, therefore, into two distinct parts, of the first of which I am the translator, and of the second the compiler. Of each of these two parts something must now be said.

Part I (pp. 1-166) contains as complete a list of Persian newspapers, with particulars concerning each, as it has been possible to compile, preceded by a Preface and Introduction (pp. 1-6 and 7-26), and followed by a brief essay on some of the more important products of the Persian Press other than newspapers, especially such as conducted, directly or indirectly, to the "Awakening of Persia" (pp. 154-166). The whole of this portion is translated from a Persian treatise, at present unpublished, entitled, for reasons explained by the Author, Mirzá Muḥammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat," at p. 5 of his Preface, "A Page from the History of the products of the Persian Press"; and all that I have done besides translating it is to add a few explanatory foot-notes (the majority of which, however, are the Author's) and to append to the description of each newspaper in smaller type some additional particulars concerning its size, price, etc., derived from the inspection of copies in my own possession, of which, thanks to the generosity of Mr H. L. Rabino, whereof I shall shortly speak, I have a fairly extensive collection. It is important that the reader should bear in mind that these

ورقی از دفتر تأریف مطبوعات ایرانی و فارسی

paragraphs in smaller type are added by myself to the original articles, in order that he may not be puzzled by occasional discrepancies which appear between them and the paragraphs in larger type which precede them; for on the one hand I have not thought it right to modify (save in a few cases of evident inadvertence) the sense of the Author's statements, and on the other I have indicated, whenever reference to a copy of the paper in question was possible, the result of my own observations, inasmuch as the Author wrote in exile, for the most part from memory and scanty notes, and, as he has explained in his Preface (pp. 1-3), was unable to refer to the rich material which he had collected for the compilation of this work, and which is now, unhappily, lost beyond recall.

The Author's work, as he has explained in his Preface, was prior in conception, though subsequent in execution, to that of Mr H. L. Rabino, who was, until about two years ago, British Vice-Consul at Rasht in Persia, and is now at Saffi in Morocco. Mr Rabino, whom I have never had the pleasure of meeting, is one of those consular officers who take delight in devoting the time which they can spare from their official duties to the careful study of the language, history, literature, antiquities, customs and resources of the country in which they find themselves, and it is a matter of profound regret rather than of surprise that one so well acquainted with and so sympathetic to the Persians, and so well instructed in all that concerns them and their country, should have been removed thence to a distant and (I imagine) uncongenial post. At all events he made the best use of his time in Rasht, which has in many ways been fruitful of valuable results, especially in the domains of history, geography and geology, and not least in this hitherto almost unexplored field of Persian Journalism. In 1911 he published at Rasht what is, so far as I know, the first systematic treatise on this subject, a Persian pamphlet of 29 large pages (measuring 35 x 22½ centimetres), printed at the '*Urwaṭu'l-Wuthqā* Press, of which the full title, both in Persian and English, and some description are given at pp. 2-3 of the Author's Preface and in the foot-notes thereto. In a short Preface of two pages he sketches the history of Persian Journalism from its beginnings (in or about 1848) down to

the time of writing (August 29, 1911). This Preface is followed (pp. 6-25) by a list of 243 papers, arranged alphabetically, published in Persian or in Persia<sup>1</sup>. Each page is divided into ten columns, of which the first contains the ordinal number of the paper in the list, the second the title of the paper, the third the place of publication, the fourth the intervals of publication (daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, etc.), the fifth the method of production (print, lithography, or "jelly-graphy"), the sixth the date of inception, the seventh the date of conclusion, the eighth the political tendency, the ninth the name of the proprietor or editor, and the tenth and last any additional observations. Of the papers enumerated Nos. 1-226 are Persian, Turkish or Arabic, Nos. 227-230 French, and Nos. 231-236 Armenian, while Nos. 237-243 are additional Persian papers omitted in their proper place. Blank spaces are left, numbered 244-269, for additional entries, while the last two pages (28-29) contain a list of *errata*.

A French translation of Mr Rabino's Persian pamphlet by M. L. Buwat appeared in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* for 1913 (pp. 287-315). It was made, I believe, without Mr Rabino's knowledge or concurrence, and, by reason of mistranslations and omissions, is regarded by him as not wholly satisfactory. I possess a copy of these pages with numerous annotations and corrections in Mr Rabino's hand. One distinctive merit, however, it possesses, for foot-notes are added which give "*les principales indications bibliographiques, les comptes rendus et les Traductions in extenso donnés par la Revue des journaux persans.*"

In English, so far as I know, little has hitherto appeared on the Persian Press, except a small brochure of my own, originally delivered as a lecture to and afterwards published by the Persia Society under the title of *the Persian Press and Persian Journalism*<sup>2</sup>, which was practically a very brief *résumé* of this present work, and, like it, owes whatever value it possesses to

<sup>1</sup> As in the present treatise, mention is made of all Persian newspapers, whether published in Persia or abroad, and of all papers, whether in Persian or in some other language (Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, French, etc.), published in Persia. This is what is meant in the title of this work by *Irak* (i.e. published in the Persian Kingdom) and *Étranger* (published in the Persian language).

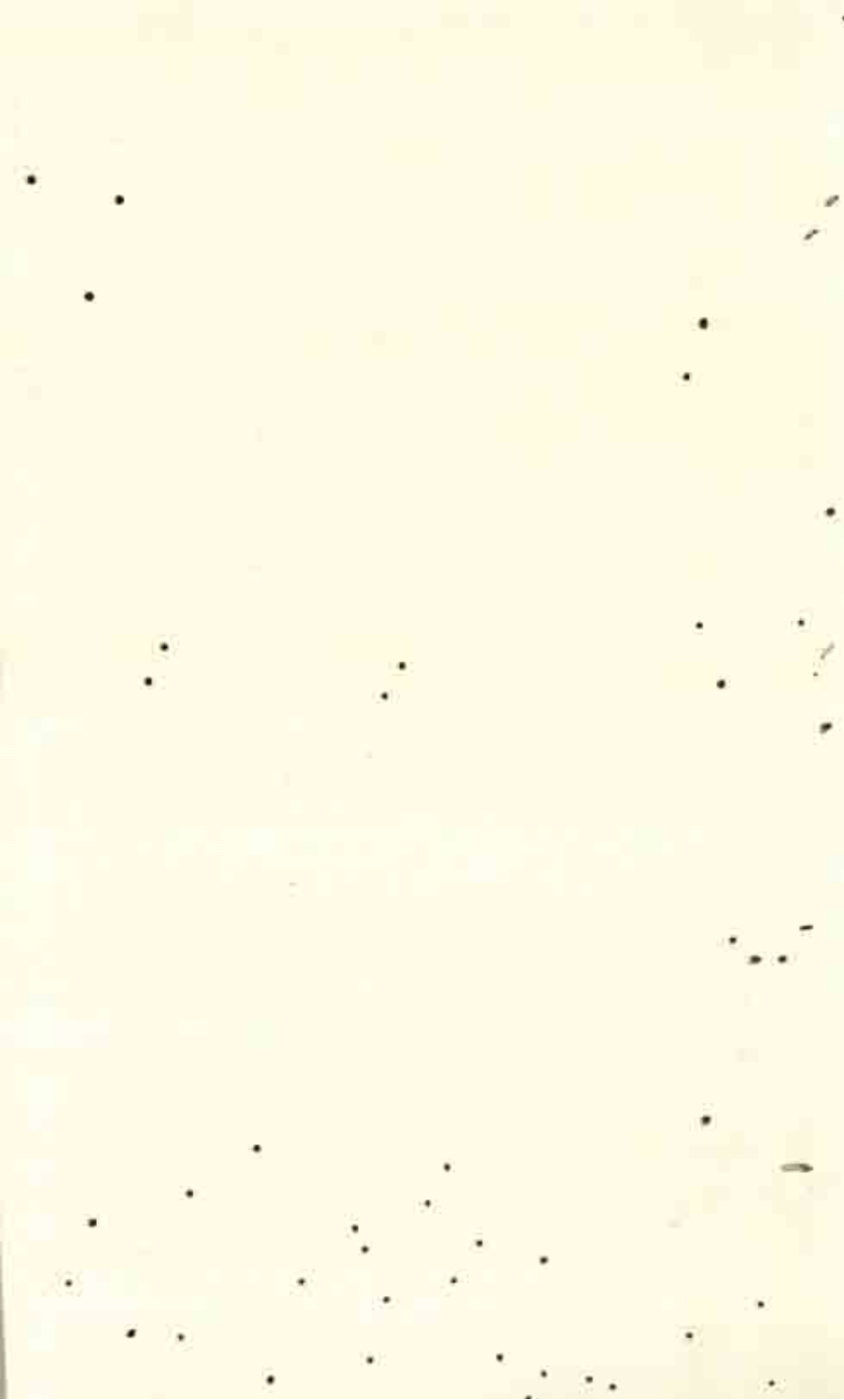
<sup>2</sup> The lecture was delivered on May 23, 1913, and was afterwards published for the Society by John Hogg, 13, Paternoster Row, London, at the price of one shilling. It contains 28 pages.



the work of Mr Rabino and Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat." The *Times*, which, in pursuance of the reactionary and obscurantist policy which generally characterizes its views on Eastern politics, made some disparaging remarks on the "mischievous and dangerous" character of "the free Press of Persia" and "other Oriental lands" in its issue of July 2, 1908, published a short article on the subject on October 29, 1909<sup>1</sup>; while the *Standard* of November 15, 1909, contained a good and sympathetic account of Sayyid Hasan, the editor of the daily Tīhrān *Hablu'l-Matin*, who had recently been imprisoned on the charge of speaking disrespectfully of the religion of Islām. Towards the end of May, 1910, the English daily press also contained some account of the protests evoked amongst Persian journalists by the suppression of the *Sharq*, and the violent scenes to which this high-handed measure gave rise in the National Assembly. The *Times* of June 28, 1910, again, contained some account of the printers' strike at Tīhrān. The *Manchester Guardian* of September 28, 1910, contained an article on "Persian newspapers and their work." Lastly, the almost complete suppression of the Press on December 26, 1911, two days after the forcible closure of the National Assembly, was chronicled in several English papers. A certain amount of information about Persian newspapers, together with several translations of articles from some of them, is also contained in my *History of the Persian Revolution*, published in October, 1910.

As one would expect, the fortunes of the Press in Persia follow very closely those of the Constitutional Movement. Before the granting of the Constitution by Muẓaffarū'd-Dīn Shāh in August, 1906, but few newspapers were published in Persia, and these were politically of no account, and only valuable, when they had any value at all, from the literary

<sup>1</sup> The disparaging article appeared ten days after the now deposed Shāh, Muḥammad 'Alī, had succeeded, with the aid of Colonel Liakhoff and the other Russian officers in his service, in destroying the First National Assembly, and when his cause appeared to have triumphed. The second article, which, though far from sympathetic, at least takes the Persian Press more or less seriously and gives a few more or less accurate facts about it, was written shortly after the Nationalist triumph and the deposition of the ex-Shāh. No one has ever accused Printing House Square of being "the home of lost causes."





point of view, on account of the poems and critical articles which they occasionally contained. In the latter part of 1906 several important newspapers, printed with moveable types, began to appear, such as the *Majlis* (on November 25, 1906) and the *Nidā-yi-Waṭan* a month later. During the following year (1907) many more appeared, and the number continued to increase until the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, which marked the beginning of the period known to the Persians as "the Minor Despotism" or "Lesser Autocracy" (*Istibdād-i-Ṣaghīr*), when the free Press was practically destroyed for the time being. As the Constitutional forces began to rally and make headway in Gilān and Isfahān, the Press also began to revive in these localities, until, on the triumphant entry of the victorious Nationalists into Tihṛān and the deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī in July, 1909, it speedily attained a luxuriance even greater than during the "First Constitutional Period," and (save for a brief period in August, 1910, after the fighting which attended the disarmament of the *fidd'ls* in Tihṛān, when for some days the *Istiglāl-i-Īrān* was the only paper appearing in the capital) continued in this flourishing condition until the forcible closure of the Second National Assembly and the violent aggressions of Russia during the last days of 1911. Since that time it has again been in abeyance: the only notable papers published in Tihṛān since the beginning of 1912 are, so far as I know, the official or semi-official *Aṣṭāb* ("Sun"), and the rather more independent *Īrān-i-Kunūnī* ("Present Persia"); while at Tabriz, Rasht and Mashhad Russian brutality has effectually extinguished not only the Press, but every other manifestation of Liberalism and national life. Two infamous reactionary and anti-patriotic papers, the *Fikr* ("Thought") and the *Tawfiq* ("Divine Favour"), were successively promoted and subsidized by the Russians in Tabriz, but to describe them as worthless would be to pay them too high a compliment.

Of the Persian newspapers published outside Persia, which are naturally much more independent of political events in that

<sup>1</sup> The *Bary* ("Lightning") has since reappeared, No. 1 "of the Fifth Year" being dated October 12, 1913. Since November 27, 1913, it has changed its name to *Ra'ā* ("Thunder").



country than those published within its borders, the most important have been or are the *Akhtar* ("Star"), printed at Constantinople (1875-1895); the *Qānūn* (1889-1890) in London; the *Hablul-Matin* (Calcutta) founded in 1893 and still continuing; the *Thurayyā* (1898-9) and *Parwarish* (1900), printed in Cairo; the *Hikmat* and *Chihra-numā*, founded in Egypt, in 1892-3 and 1904-5 respectively, and still continuing; and the *Shams* ("Sun") of Constantinople, founded in 1909 and still continuing.

During the greater part of the Constitutional Period I regularly received a certain number of the principal papers, such as the *Majlis*, *Nidā-yi-Waṭan*, *Tamaddun*, *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*, *Musāwāt*, *Hablul-Matin* and *Šubḥ-i-Šādiq* during the First Constitutional Period; and the *Irān-i-Naw*, *Barq*, *Sharq*, *ʿAṣr*, *Waqt*, etc. during the Second. I also inherited a number of papers left by Shaykh Ḥasan of Tabriz, formerly teacher of Persian in this University, on his return to Persia. Yet my collection would have been very imperfect had it not been for the extraordinary generosity of Mr H. L. Rabino, who, on his transference from Rasht to Morocco, presented me with the whole of his extensive and valuable collection, which contained complete or almost complete sets of several papers, especially of those published in Rasht, such as the *Nasim-i-Shimāl*, *Kinkāsh*, *Šadā-yi-Rasht*, *Gīdān* and *Khayru'l-Kalām*, and some specimens at least of nearly all the papers mentioned in his pamphlet. Thanks to this act of generosity, I believe that I possess the most complete and extensive collection of Persian newspapers which exists outside Persia, and this has been of enormous help to me in the preparation of the present work.

One notable feature of the modern Persian Press is the large amount of excellent verse which is to be found in it, especially in the Rasht papers enumerated at the end of the preceding paragraph, in the *Bahār* of Mashhad, and in the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*, *Irān-i-Naw* and other organs of the Tihiran Press. Much of this verse is "topical," referring to the stirring events of the recent Revolution and the principal *dramatis personæ*; or patriotic, inciting the youth of Persia to deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice; or satirical. It is, in my opinion, of great interest

both from the historical and the literary points of view, and is often equally remarkable for its merit and its originality. As it has hitherto remained almost unnoticed in Europe, I have thought it desirable to include in this volume a selection of these recent patriotic and political poems, chosen more or less at random out of a great number contained in the bound volumes of newspapers in my possession, or supplied to me by some of my Persian friends and correspondents, to whom I here desire to tender my sincere thanks.

Part II of this book (pp. 167-308), which is devoted to these poems, is, therefore, an addition made by myself to the original book of which the translation constitutes Part I. Certain European students of Persian whose researches stop short at the period which, four hundred years ago, produced Jāmi, the most celebrated of the later "classical" poets, and his contemporary Dawlatshāh, the most widely-read and one of the least trustworthy of their biographers, constantly assert, that there is no modern Persian poetry worth reading, a statement which I can only account for by supposing that they have not taken the trouble to look for it or read it, but which is nevertheless widely credited. In a lecture on *the Literature of Persia* which I delivered before the Persia Society on April 26, 1912<sup>1</sup>, I spoke briefly of this modern poetry, and gave some specimens of it, and after the lecture several of those present expressed surprise at learning that there was any modern poetry to speak of. This determined me to devote some attention to the refutation of a pernicious error chiefly attributable to the rarity of intimate relations between the literary worlds of Europe and Asia, but fostered and encouraged to some extent by those who desire for political reasons to represent such Asiatic peoples as the Persians as entirely decadent and degenerate, whereas in fact they have during the last eight years shown a vitality which, under happier circumstances, had it been unimpeded by malignant external forces entirely beyond the control of the Persian people, would, I am firmly convinced, have ultimately effected the moral and material regeneration of the country.

<sup>1</sup> Published for the Society by John Hogg, 13, Paternoster Row, London, E.C., price one shilling.

Of this renewed vitality the modern Press and Poetry are a reflection and manifestation, and I venture to think that neither the originality nor the merit of the literary products of the Persian Revolution, whether in prose or verse, will be denied by any competent and unprejudiced observer. True literature is the mirror of contemporary thought and sentiment, and the alternating phases of hope and despair of the Persians during the last eight years (1905-1913) are well reflected in the ephemeral literature of that period. It is for this reason that I have, as far as possible, arranged the poetical selections which conclude this volume in chronological order, and have chosen specimens representative of all the principal types, ranging from the classical *musammat*, *mustazâd* and *mathnawî* to the popular ballad (*tañîf*) often abounding in slang and dialect.

At this point it may not be out of place to insert a few particulars concerning some half-dozen contemporary Persian poets, most of whom are represented in Part II of this book, which were supplied to me in January, 1913, by Mîrzâ Husayn Kâzîm-zâde, to whose help the latter portion of this book owes much.

1. *Bahâr Malikû'sh-Shu'arâ* ("the King of Poets").

"He is a native of Mashhad, and is one of the attendants of the Shrine of the Imâm Rizâ. He is about thirty-five years of age. During the latter period of the Constitution he founded the newspaper *Bahâr* ('Spring') at Mashhad. In No. 18 of the Calcutta *Hablul-Matin* of the present year was inserted a poem of his entitled 'A critical offering to His Excellency Sir Edward Grey'.

2. *Arif of Qazvin*.

"He is a man of dervish-like disposition, and often sings his poems to the accompaniment of music at public and patriotic meetings, where he is warmly applauded by all. On the occasion of a representation given in Tîhrân a month before<sup>1</sup> the heart-rending catastrophe of Tabriz by the Literary Circle of the Democratic Party under the title of 'the National Festival to commemorate the Victory of the supporters of the Constitution

<sup>1</sup> This poem is No. 34 of the collection at the end of this volume, and will be found, with a versified translation, at pp. 253-257 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* about the end of November, 1911.



and the defeat of Muḥammad 'Alī, 'Arif undertook the rôle of minstrel, and, in a most charming and affecting manner, sung the poem which he had composed for this occasion, and which begins as follows:

پیام دوشم ز پیر میفروش آمد ' بنوش باده که یک ملتى بهوش آمد  
 هزار پرده ز ایران درید استبداد ' هزار شکر که مشروطه پرده پوش آمد  
 'Last night a message reached me from the old Wine-seller:  
 'Drink wine, for a whole Nation has come to its senses!  
 'Despotism tore away from Persia a thousand veils:  
 'A thousand thanks that the Constitution has come to replace  
 these veils!'

"Most of 'Arif's poems, which consist of *ghazals* (odes), have been printed<sup>2</sup>, and are sung in public and private assemblies. In consequence of a verse<sup>3</sup> offensive to the Regent he was imprisoned with other Democrats early in 1913, but shortly afterwards escaped to Isfahān.

### 3. *Mirsā Muntazā 'Farhang.*

"He is a young man about twenty-eight years of age, who founded the newspaper *Khāvaristān* ('the Eastern Land') in Tih-rān during the first Period of the Constitution. During the second Period he was Chief of Police, first at Samnān and afterwards at Qum. He is at present studying in Paris.

### 4. *Sayyid Ashraf of Gilān.*

"He is about forty years of age. During the Second Period of the Constitution he founded the paper *Nāsm-i-Shimāl* ('Breeze of the North') at Rasht<sup>4</sup>. After the tragic occurrences

<sup>1</sup> "To tear away veils" here means to expose the nakedness or defects, and "to replace the veils" to restore self-respect.

<sup>2</sup> I possess a printed pamphlet of 13 pp. containing six of these poems, arranged for the use of singers. It is dated the 26th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (= Oct. 20, 1911), and is described as "offered to the Literary Society in memory of the glorious Festival of the Victors," i.e. the Nationalists who captured Tih-rān in July, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> This is the verse in question:—

کسی را که درین ملک سلیمان کردند ' ملت امروز بهمید که او اهرمن است

<sup>4</sup> See No. 334 (pp. 148-9 *infra*), from which it will be seen that this paper first appeared on Sept. 10, 1907, nine months before the destruction of the First National Assembly, and therefore during the First Period of the Constitution.

which took place there [in December, 1911, and January, 1912] he was compelled to leave that city, and his printing-press was destroyed [by the Russians]. The poems which he wrote criticizing the *Mullás* are much appreciated.

### 5. *Pūr-i-Dāwūd.*

"He is a young man about twenty-five years of age. He studied French in Beyrout (Syria) and is now studying Law in Paris, where he has helped to found, and actively supports, the 'Literary and Scientific Society of the Persians in Paris.' He is especially skilful in the employment [in his poems] of old Persian words.

### 6. *Jāfar-i-Khānuḍ.*

"He learned French surreptitiously in Tabriz, his father, a fanatical and old-fashioned merchant, having forbidden him to study foreign languages, or to write poetry, for which he shewed a natural aptitude. Hence his poems are, as a rule, unsigned."

Some twenty poems accompanied these brief biographies, of which the best are included in Part II (pp. 260-299). Other notable contemporary poets, of whose work I have not been able to give specimens here, are Malik-i-Sāsānī, Shūrīda and Badī'u'z-Zamān of Shīrāz, Adīb of Nishāpūr, Husāmu'l-Islām "Dānish," Ahmad Suhaylī of Tabriz (hanged by the Russians in January 1912), Husayn Khān Dānish, etc.

It seems natural at this point, for the sake of comparison, to say a few words about modern Arabic and Turkish patriotic poetry.

The best modern Arabic verse with which I am acquainted has been produced in Egypt. Of contemporary poets in that country Shawqī Bey and Hāfiz Ibrāhīm are two of the most famous. The former is essentially a Court poet, who writes graceful but insincere verses in praise of the Khedive or in description of State Balls and other Court functions. Hāfiz Ibrāhīm is a much more sincere and therefore effective poet, and his verses deal with a much wider range of subjects. Thus, to

take at random a few of the poems contained in the second part of his *Dhūwān* (published at Cairo in 1907) we find two in praise of the Japanese; another addressed to the Empress Eugénie; another appealing for greater recognition of the Arabic language; another in praise of Victor Hugo; another on the victims of a fire at Mīt Ghāmī; another on the dearness of food; a threnody (*marthiya*) on the late Mufti of Egypt, Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh; another threnody on Maḥmūd Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī; another addressed to the late King Edward the Seventh on the occasion of his Coronation, etc. The two finest of his poems, however, were called forth by the lamentable tragedy of Denshawī (or Deneshwāy) in the summer of 1906, of which, both on account of the celebrity which it attained, and of the painful and humiliating reflections which it evokes, I shall say nothing more in this place<sup>1</sup>. The first of these two poems (pp. 44-47 of the edition above mentioned) begins:

آيها القائمون بآلامر فينا هل نسيتم ولائنا و آلؤادنا

The second (pp. 102-104), which is the finer of the two, is addressed to Lord Cromer on his return to Egypt in the autumn of the same year, and begins:

قصر الدوبارة هل أتاك حديثنا فالشرق ربيع له و ضج آلغرب  
أهلاً بهاكنك أكريم و مرحباً بعد آلتحية إلتنى أتعجب

A line or two further on the poet finely says, addressing Lord Cromer:

علمتنا معنى الحياة فما لنا لا نشرتب لها و ما لك تغضب  
أنقمت منا أن نحس و إتما هذا الذى تدعو إليه و تندب

"Thou didst teach us the meaning of Life, and why should we not aspire to it, and wherefore shouldst thou be angry?"

"Art thou wrath with us because we have feelings [of patriotism]? It is even unto this that thou art wont to urge and incite us!"

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances of this affair are ruthlessly exposed by Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt in a little pamphlet published by T. Fisher Unwin in August, 1906, and entitled *Atrocities of Justice under British Rule in Egypt*. See also Mr Bernard Shaw's *Preface for Politicians* (pp. xlv-liv: "the Denshawī Horror") prefixed to *John Bull's other Island* (London: Constable & Co., 1907).



This poem, which is written with equal power and restraint, undoubtedly expressed the deepest feelings of the Egyptian people, but it is to be feared that it was never read by him to whom it was addressed.

Another book of Arabic verse which created a great stir in Egypt, leading to the flight of the author to Constantinople, the prosecution and imprisonment of the Nationalist leaders, Muhammad Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish, and the confiscation of the book, was a collection of patriotic poems entitled *Watanīyyatī* ("My Patriotism"), by Shaykh 'Alī al-Ghāyātī. Most of these poems are topical, referring to such events as Lord Cromer's departure from Egypt on May 6, 1907; the revival of the Press Law by Butrus Pasha on March 25, 1909; the assassination of Butrus Pasha by Ibrāhīm Efendi Nāsif al-Wardānī on February 20, 1910; the execution of al-Wardānī on June 28, 1910; Roosevelt's speech of March 29, 1910, at Cairo, and his Guildhall speech of May 31, 1910, both of which caused intense annoyance to the Egyptians, etc. Some of the earlier poems, composed in 1907, originally appeared in the paper *al-Mu'ayyad*, but most of the later ones were first published in the celebrated Nationalist organ *al-Liwa'* ("the Standard"). Proceedings were instituted against the poet and against Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish (each of whom had contributed a preface to the little volume) on July 14, 1910. Ferid Bey was at the time in Europe, and the poet Shaykh 'Alī al-Ghāyātī<sup>1</sup> succeeded, as mentioned above, in escaping to Constantinople, so that Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish was left for the moment to bear the brunt of the prosecution. He was sent for trial on July 26, and on August 6, 1910, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and Ferid Bey on his subsequent return to Egypt suffered a similar fate.

So effective was the suppression of this little book *Watanīyyatī* that it cost me an infinity of trouble to obtain even the loan of a

<sup>1</sup> I have recently learned that the poet al-Ghāyātī has renounced his Nationalist opinions and reconciled himself to the Khedive, in whose honour he composed a panegyric on the occasion of his anniversary, January 8, 1912, and from whom he now receives a pension on which he lives at Geneva, shunned by his former comrades, who call him "the Egyptian Gapon."

copy, and its rarity and inaccessibility may therefore excuse me for briefly describing it. It comprises 129 pages of 18 x 13 centimetres, and contains: (1) the Author's Preface (pp. 2-3); (2) his dedication of the work to the dead Nationalist leader, Mustafá Kámil Pasha, and his living successors, Feríd Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azíz Shawísh (pp. 4-5); (3) Feríd Bey's Preface (pp. 6-8) on "the influence of Poetry in the education of Nations"; (4) Shaykh Shawísh's Preface (pp. 9-11) on "Poetry and the Poet"; (5) an Introduction (pp. 12-32), apparently by the poet, dealing chiefly with the dearth of patriotic verse in Egypt at the time of writing, the history and influence of the *Marseillaise*, and a panegyric on the French Revolution. This concludes the preliminary prose portion of the book, which also contains signed portraits of the three collaborators. It is followed by the poems, forty-six in number (pp. 33-128), which are fully annotated to explain the circumstances under which each was written.

I have not at hand an account of the trial, but, so far as my recollection serves me, the prosecution was chiefly based on three poems (Nos. 15, 27 and 30), of which the first (published in the *Litá* on August 19, 1909) was addressed to Dingra (the murderer of Sir Curzon Wylie) who had been executed two days previously; the second dealt with the assassination of the Coptic Premier Buṭrus Pasha, who was shot by al-Wardání on February 20, 1910; and the third (a short poem of four verses) described the condemnation to death of al-Wardání, who was executed on June 28, 1910. The Prefaces contributed by Feríd Bey and Shaykh Shawísh contained nothing which would appear to justify a prosecution for sedition according to English ideas, but the writers seem to have been held responsible for the utterances of the poet whose work they thus in some measure endorsed, in spite of their contention that they had not read all the poems contained in the volume to which they placed themselves in the position of sponsors. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself how far the utterances of Feríd Bey and Shaykh Shawísh merited such draconic reprisals, and also because their remarks are of interest in connection with the general development of patriotic poetry in the East (a quite recent though widely-spread



phenomenon), a complete translation of their two Prefaces is here given. Ferid Bey's Preface is as follows :

*"The Influence of Poetry in the Education of Nations.*

"Poetry is one of the most active agents in awakening nations from their lethargy and in inspiring them with the spirit of vitality, even as it is one of the chief incentives to battle and inspirers of heroic endeavour and risking of life in war. Hence from ancient times we find such heroic poetry prevalent amongst the Arabs and other noble nations, such as the Romans, the Greeks, and so forth.

"No one will deny that the French song composed by the French officer, Rouget de l'Isle, and entitled 'the Marseillaise,' was one of the most potent causes of the victory of France over the kings of Europe, who had combined to extinguish the Spirit of Freedom on its first appearance.

"Hence some writers amongst us have written much on the necessity of composing patriotic elegies and songs, so that our children may learn them by heart and sing them in their leisure hours or recite them in their play-time, instead of the songs and verses which the street-children repeat, especially during the nights of Ramazân the Blessed. So likewise they have written on the necessity of changing the songs which are sung on festive occasions, all of which revolve round one point, to wit Love and the attribution to the Beloved of qualities 'which God hath not revealed anything to authorize!'

"One of the results of the autocratic government of an individual, equally in the West or in the East, is the destruction of heroic poetry, and the inducing of poets, by the means of gifts and favours, to compose insipid panegyrics and futile encomiums on kings, nobles and ministers; and to withdraw themselves from everything which can educate men's minds and implant in them the love of Liberty and Independence. So likewise another result of this despotism is the complete absence from the sermons delivered in places of worship of anything which might profit the hearer, since all of them revolve round the subject of withdrawal

<sup>1</sup> These words are a quotation from the *Shir'at'u'n-Najm*, or "Chapter of the Star," in the *Qur'ân* (liii, 23).

from the world, mingled with incitements to idleness and the patient expectation of daily bread without any effort or work.

"Hence those nations which have undergone political subjugation, becoming apprized of this fact, make the production of patriotic poems and heroic verses (in the classical language for the educated class and in the common language for peasants, artisans and others of the uneducated classes) one of the first of their principles; and this becomes one of the most potent factors in inspiring all classes with a spirit of patriotism. And I rejoice that this auspicious *Risorgimento* has permeated our country, and that most of the poets have left off composing panegyrics on nobles and governors, and have turned their attention to, and used their gifts for, the production of patriotic poetry, and the employment of it to describe the political circumstances which engage public attention. The present work, *Wafaniyyat*, has appeared in the vanguard of this auspicious and righteous revival.

"My joy is increased by the fact that village poets have composed verses and songs about the Denshawî affair and what grew out of it; about the late Mustafâ Kâmil Pasha and his patriotic efforts; and about the Suez Canal question and the repudiation of its legality by the General Assembly<sup>1</sup>; and that they have begun to sing them around their camp-fires and at their festivals to the accompaniment of their simple instruments of music. This, please God, is a movement full of promise, proving that the efforts of the patriotic party have borne fruit, and that their efforts have reached the depths of men's hearts in all classes of the people, promising a speedy deliverance, by God's permission, from the occupation and from the despotism of an individual.

"It therefore behoves the poets to abandon the habit of composing laudatory poems and panegyrics on the occasion of notable anniversaries and recognized festivals, and to employ their lofty and God-given talents for the service and education of the people, instead of devoting them to the service of the rich.

<sup>1</sup> The deliberations of the General Assembly as to the proposed prolongation of the Suez Canal concession lasted from February 9 until April 9, 1910, when it was unanimously rejected by all the members of the Assembly with the exception of the Copt Marquis Bey Samayka.

and the flattery of nobles, or using them as a means to gain the favour of Ministers; seeing that the rulers pass away, while the Nation remains.

"Peace be upon him who heareth and remembereth, and who succeeds in serving his country and striving for it: *'Verily his striving shall be regarded, and God will reward him with an abundant recompense.'*"

Here follows Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish's Preface:

*"Poetry and Poets."*

"Some poetasters are wont to imagine that poetry consists merely in metrical sentences in which due regard is paid to the proper rhyme. Hence you see them as bold as can be in composing *qasidas* (panegyrics) and in laying claim to poetic talent, relying herein on the ignorance of the majority as to the real nature of poetry, its essential qualities, and the conditions on which depend its correctness and perfection, and well aware of the rarity of persons of sufficient culture to discriminate between the bad and the good, or to comprehend the subtle differences which distinguish fruitful from barren verses. Especially is this the case at this time, when the faculty of properly wielding the Arabic language has grown weak, in consequence of the growth of foreign influences over the Arabs and the bad taste which accompanies this, so that the very construction of its phrases is in the utmost need of rectification.

"If you wish to know what good poetry is, put away from yourself metrical feet and undue regard for rhyming letters and elaborate verbiage, and pay heed only to the effect which it leaves in your spirit. For indeed the best poetry is that which possesses your heart until you put it aside, even as the finest pictures are those which hold your vision until they are hidden from it. If, therefore, you would know the difference between natural and artificial poetry, if you perceive when you hear it that the ideas which it expresses are, as it were, spirits which whisper to you, while its words come forth almost

<sup>1</sup> This quotation is also from the *Siratu'l-Najm* (*Qur'an*, Lii, 41-2). In the original text a facsimile of Ferid Bey's signature is subjoined.



spontaneously from your mouth, that is natural poetry; while if its motives enter your heart in diverse ways, and its exordium and arrangement do not harmonize when heard, that is artificial poetry<sup>1</sup>; of the shallow outpourings of which none will drink the dregs save the ignorant poetaster or the hireling poet. For how can poetry be beautiful or sweet to hear when it issues forth from a heart unmoved and a soul unaffected? Or is poetry aught else than a mirror wherein are seen the effects of psychical influences controlling the spirit of the composer?

"Abdu'l-Malik once said to Artāt ibn Suhayya<sup>2</sup>, 'How is it now with thy poetry?' 'By Allāh,' he replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, I neither rejoice, nor am angry, nor desire, nor fear; and poetry is not produced save as the result of one of these four emotions!'

"That is not poetry which results from the poet's contemplation of fantastic forms which transcend realities, or from his pursuing the path of exaggeration in praise and blame. Poetry is naught else than the depicting of the images which circulate in the mind; and just as the most skilful painter is not he who combines incompatible elements or who portrays on his canvas something which does not correspond with any existing eternal reality, but rather he who turns his attention to something which does exist and portrays it with so fine a shading that it seems to him who gazes on it as though he were looking at its subject as something endowed with external existence, so likewise the most skilful poet is he who attains to true conceptions and judgments and sets them forth to the hearer in sentences which captivate his intelligence and impel him to act in conformity with their requirements.

"All that the poet has to do, therefore, after he has fully endowed his poetry with its due measure of sincerity and discriminating insight, is to clothe it in well-conceived sentences

<sup>1</sup> The writer's meaning is, I think, that the artificial poetry of the panegyrists which he is denouncing is generally a mere display of rhetorical figures not bound together by any strong underlying motive, so that such emotions as it evokes are disconnected and incoherent.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Malik, the fifth Umayyad Caliph, reigned A.D. 685-705 (A.H. 68-86). Artāt was one of the most eminent poets who belong exclusively to the Umayyad period.

and emphasize the harmony of the ideas one with another. For the composition of poetry is only like setting words to music and adapting them to song; and just as melody is not pleasing to the ear except when its component parts harmonize, so also poetry, when its sentences do not harmonize and its ideas do not accord, is a mere deafening of the ears and a grief to the spirit of man.

"If anyone would see a specimen of poetry which combines grace of words with wealth of ideas, and strength of structure with sincerity of diction, let him read a little of this book *Watan-i-yaff*; and let him who will enquire of its effects from these growing energies, and these ardent souls, and these loyal resolutions, for they are of its planting and of the fairest of its fruits."

As regards the poems of Shaykh 'Alī al-Ghāyātī, while it is impossible to ignore their spirit and vigour, or to deny that many of them contain only legitimate though sometimes caustic criticisms of men and measures obnoxious to the author's political creed, several of them are quite indefensible, especially the poem on Dingra, which, in spite of certain qualifications made by the author in his notes, does undoubtedly convey the impression that he condoned to a certain extent the terrible and tragic crime with which this man's name is associated. It may be questioned whether any murder in recent times has produced results so evil and so far reaching. The assassin had no grudge, personal or political, against his victim Sir Curzon Wylie, who, indeed, was known as a friend and benefactor of Indian students of a kind greatly needed and too rarely found in this country in the present day. This fact greatly increased the indignation aroused by a crime which seemed almost insane in its purposelessness, and this indignation manifested itself, illogically enough, in a widespread and indiscriminating alienation of sympathy from the whole body of Indian students, most of them hard-working, peaceable, intelligent and deserving men, who visit this country, and even tended to increase that unhappy antipathy which has grown up in recent years between the West and the East. The more one loves the East, appreciates its virtues, and sympathizes

with its aspirations, the more must one deplore this unhappy event, and desire that it should be buried in oblivion rather than enshrined in verse.

How far, in English law, the writer of a preface is held responsible for the contents of the book to which it is prefixed is another question; but neither of these prefaces, especially that of Shāykh Shawish, would appear to the unprejudiced reader to contain in itself any matter so seditious or objectionable as to deserve so harsh a punishment as was meted out to its author. There is moreover a certain irony in the general attitude assumed by the most powerful "Liberal" Government of modern England towards freedom of speech and freedom of the Press in its Eastern dependencies which constantly recalls to my mind the following anecdote concerning the above-mentioned Umayyad Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik related in that delightful history of the Caliphate the *Kitābu'l-Fakhr*<sup>1</sup>:

"'Abdu'l-Malik before he succeeded to the Caliphate, was one of the pietists of al-Madīna, so that he was nicknamed 'the Mosque Dove,' because of his indefatigable reading of the Scripture. But when his father died, and he was acclaimed Caliph, he closed the Sacred Volume and said, '*This is a separation between me and thee!*'"

When I read or recall this passage there rises before my mind's eye the form of a veteran "Liberal" statesman on the eve of the "Seven fat years" reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting John Stuart Mill's *Liberty*. To him enter his enthusiastic followers and admirers to announce the triumph of "Liberalism" and his elevation to the rank of Secretary of State and Cabinet Minister; whereupon he lays aside the treatise on *Liberty*<sup>2</sup>, saying, as 'Abdu'l-Malik said more than twelve hundred years ago, "*This is a separation between me and thee!*"

<sup>1</sup> There are three editions of this book (composed in the thirteenth century of our era), that of Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860), that of Derenbourg (Paris, 1895), and the cheap but excellent Egyptian reprint (A.H. 1317). The anecdote here quoted occurs on p. 110 of the latter. A French translation of the text by Émile Amar has recently been published by Leroux of Paris.

<sup>2</sup> This is a quotation from the *Sārāt al-Kahf* (*Qur'ān*, xviii, 77).

<sup>3</sup> Not only in Egypt but also in India the Press Law is now (November, 1913) excessively stringent. A pamphlet entitled "Come over into Macedonia and help us,"



It would be out of place here to speak at length of the contents of *Wafaniyyat*, though most of the forty-six poems which it contains are interesting both on account of their intrinsic merit and because of their connection with recent political events. I will only mention two excellent ones (Nos. 33 and 34, pp. 108-112) addressed to Mr Roosevelt in remonstrance against the speeches he delivered at the Egyptian University in Cairo on Monday, March 29, 1910, and at the Guildhall in London on May 31 of the same year. I subjoin a score of verses from the first, which is at once the more spirited and the more graceful.

لعمرك لست بالرجل الهام	إذا عدّ الهام من الكوام
كوام الناس أصدقهم حديثاً	و أبعد عن أكاذيب اللثام
فما لك لم تقم في التيل إلا	لتسمعنا أباطيل الكلام
أراك ترى أيلاد بغير عين	رأيت بها بلادك منذ عام
كأننا دون قومك في المعالي	و دونك في البراعة و الحسام
رويدا يا فتى التار يخ إنا	لنا خطو على الأيام نام
جمعنا الدين و الدنيا و ضمنا	أنائذ الوري من عهد سام
فمن أنتم إذا افتخرت شعوب	بمجد في ذرا الأهرام سام

appealing for help for the Turkish victims of the Balkan Crusaders, and published by Mohammed 'Ali, the editor of the *Indian Comrade*, was confiscated; and the same fate has, I understand, overtaken my pamphlet entitled "*The Reign of Terror in Tiflis*," describing the cruelties perpetrated by the Russians at the beginning of 1912 in that unhappy city. The law is so stringent that it can, apparently, be employed to suppress historical statements of facts, even if unaccompanied by unfavourable comments and criticisms, as appears from the following paragraph from the *Delhi Comrade* of November 15, 1912: "Again, there is the question of the liberty of the Press, which has of late been rising in the scale of public notice. The Press Act of 1910 has given a rude check to the progress of what is known in the West as the Fourth Estate, and has almost clogged the mouth of the Indian Journalist, who gasps at the freedom of writing which is practically enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian section of the Press in spite of the dreaded Act. The worst features of the Act have been signally brought to light by the judgment on the application of Mr Mohammed 'Ali, by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court, against an order of the Bengal Government declaring, under Section 12 of the said Act, a perfectly harmless pamphlet entitled *Come over into Macedonia and help us* forfeited to His Majesty. In the course of the judgment we have seen how the learned Judges have exposed the absurdity of Section 4, which condemns the printing and publishing of 'any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by reference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise (the italics are ours) to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India.'"

لنا ما كان من مجدٍ تليدٍ      و ما كنتم هنالك في الأنام  
 فإن شئتم سلوا التاريخ أنّا      أضاناه و أنتم في ظلام  
 أراك و قد جهلتَ فليّت شعري      أباعى الحرب أنت أم السلام  
 تهبّ فتُرسلُ البهتانَ فينا      و ترمينا بطائشة السهام  
 فهل أعداك طيع الوحش حتى      عبثتَ وأنت في دار آتسام  
 خطبتَ و لقبوا من غير علمٍ      فكانت رميةً من غير رام  
 لعيرك إن كوثاً منك أولى      بألقاب الذكائره ألفحام  
 نراهم كذبوه و لا نراه      روى ما قال عن حزب الخصام  
 و لكنّا نراك و أنت تُلقى      علينا ما رويت عن الطغام  
 كلا الرجلين مختلف و لكن      أرى روزقلت اخلق بالعلام  
 فلا تنقم علينا بعد هذا      و أكبر ما نروم من المرامى  
 و دونك من بنات الشَّعر بيتاً      رواه النيل عن ربّ الكلام  
 "خطبتَ فكنت خطباً لا خطيباً"      أضيف الى مصائب الحام

## (Translation)

"By thy life, thou art not a magnanimous man, if the magnanimous man is reckoned amongst the noble!

The noble ones of mankind are the most truthful in their speech, and the furthest removed from the falsehoods of meaner men. What ails thee that thou didst not stand up by the Nile save to cause us to listen to vain words?

I perceive that thou regardest [other] countries with a different eye from that wherewith thou didst regard thine own country a year ago!

As though we were inferior to thy people in lofty qualities, and inferior to thee in the [use of] the pen and the sword!

Gently, O champion of history! For we hold a position which waxes with the days;

We combine [preeminence in] this world and in the Faith, and have been lords of creation since the days of Shem!



Who are ye, what time the nations boast of glory high enthroned  
 on the pinnacles of the pyramids?  
 We had what we have of ancient glory when you were not there  
 amongst mankind.  
 If you will, ask history concerning us, for verily we illuminated  
 it when you were still in darkness.

\* \* \* \* \*

I see thee ignorant, and would that I knew whether thou seekest  
 war or peace!  
 Thou breathest forth and sendeth calumny amongst us, shooting  
 at us with arrows which miss the mark.  
 Hath the nature of the wild beasts<sup>1</sup> passed over into thee, until thou  
 frownest when thou art in a place where thou should'st smile?  
 Thou didst make a speech, and they gave thee a title without  
 [thy having] any knowledge, and it was [a case of] 'a bow  
 drawn at a venture.'  
 By thy life, verily Cook<sup>2</sup> hath a better claim than thee to the title of  
 'Honorary Doctor'!  
 We see men calling him a liar, but we do not see him relating  
 what he says on the authority of a hostile faction<sup>3</sup>,  
 But we see thee casting up against us what is reported by ignoble  
 persons.  
 Both men were fabricators of falsehood, but I consider Roosevelt  
 the more deserving of blame.  
 Henceforth do not cast reproach on us, nor on the greatest of the  
 objects at which we aim!  
 Enough for thee is one verse of the daughters of song which  
 the Nile hands down from that Master of Words:  
 'Thou didst speak, and thou wast not an orator, but rather a  
 burden which was added to our other great calamities!'

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the wild beasts which Mr Roosevelt went to Africa to hunt, and by the slaughter of which he earned the sobriquet of "the Butcher of Africa" (*Jessera* (*frigida*)).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the American Cook, who claimed to have reached the North Pole, and was at first received with great honour, but afterwards became the laughing-stock of all.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. even if he told lies, they were not inspired by malice, nor did he injure his fellow-men.

<sup>4</sup> The last verse is a quotation or "insertion" (*taḡmīn*) from one of Shawwāḥ Bey's poems.

Lord Cromer's work, *Modern Egypt*, called forth some angry verses, and although the poet exaggerates when, in a footnote on p. 36, he describes this book as "crammed with vituperation and calumny of Egypt and the Egyptians and Islām and the Muslims," it undoubtedly contains statements and expressions which are unnecessarily wounding to Egyptian and Muslim sentiment, and in some cases quite unjustifiable. One specimen of each kind may be given. In vol. ii, pp. 228-9, Lord Cromer says: "It should never be forgotten that Islām cannot be reformed; that is to say, reformed Islām is Islām no longer; it is something else; we cannot as yet tell what it will eventually be"; and he quotes the opinion of Sir William Muir in support of this view, which I believe to be incorrect, and which, thus baldly phrased, is certainly calculated to wound Muslim sentiment. This point, however, is susceptible of argument and discussion; but it is otherwise when Lord Cromer speaks (vol. i. p. 324) of "some illiterate Egyptian of the type of Arābi or Mahmūd Sami." 'Arābi Pasha, a simple soldier, had no pretensions to literary culture, though he was far from illiterate in his own language; but Mahmūd Sami Pasha was not only a great bibliophile but one of the most notable poets of modern Egypt, some of whose verses are included in every anthology of modern Arabic poetry<sup>1</sup>. No doubt Lord Cromer spoke in perfect good faith, being obsessed by the idea "that there was only one true civilization in the world, and that was the civilization of Europe"; but the very fact that he did not even know, after spending nearly a quarter of a century in Egypt, that so famous a man as Mahmūd Sami Pasha was a great poet amongst his own people shews better than anything else can do how far removed he was from any real sympathy with or interest in the higher manifestations of the intellectual life of that people concerning whose material circumstances he writes with such unquestioned authority.

*Wafaniyyat* is undoubtedly a remarkable book, deserving a

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the anthology of Arabic verse published in A.H. 1322 (A.D. 1904) at Cairo by Amin 'Umar al-Bijuri and Muhammad Hasan Mahmūd, pp. 248-252. Mahmūd Sami himself compiled an extensive anthology of Arabic verse, which has been published since his death (in A.H. 1322=A.D. 1904-5) in four volumes comprising 1803 pages.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 343.

fuller notice than can here be accorded it. If, on the one hand, it contained, as already admitted, certain things which had better have remained unwritten and unpublished, it also contained genuine poetry inspired by a fervent though indiscreet patriotism—poetry of the kind so well described by Shaykh Shawsh as “that which possesses your heart until you put it aside,” and the ideas embodied in which “are, as it were, spirits which whisper to you, while its words come forth almost spontaneously from the mouth”; or which, in the words of a much older Oriental critic, the twelfth century Persian poet Nizâmî-i-‘Arûzî of Samarkand, “by acting on the imagination excites the faculties of anger and desire in such a way that by its suggestion men’s temperaments become affected with exultation or depression, whereby it conduces to the accomplishment of great deeds in the order of the world<sup>1</sup>.”

Patriotic poetry, as we understand it, hardly existed in the Muhammadan East until the most recent times. The nearest approach to it is to be found in such old Arabic poems as the *Mu'allaga* of ‘Amr b. Kulthûm, who, writing in the “Days of Ignorance” or “Barbarism” (*Ayyâmûl-Jâhiliyyat*) before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, boasted of the prowess of his tribe in words which, *mutatis mutandis*, might, as my old friend the late Sayyid ‘Alî Bilgrâmî used to say, have been written by Rudyard Kipling about the English, as where he says (to quote one verse only):

مَلَأْنَا الْأَرْضَ حَتَّى ضَاقَ عَنَّا      وَنَحْنُ الْبَحْرُ نَمْلُؤُهُ سَفِينَا

“We have filled the earth until it hath become too narrow for us,  
And the sea likewise we have filled with our ships.”

In Persia some four centuries later (early eleventh century of the Christian era) the great Firdawsî displays in the “Epic of the Kings” or *Shâh-nâmâ* something of the same spirit of pride in his nation and race and that love of heroic deeds and high achievements which the Arabs call *Hamâsa*. Such poetry in

<sup>1</sup> See my translation of the *Chahâr Maqâla* (“Four Discourses”) of this poet, published by the J. R. A. S. (pp. 42-43 of the *tirage-à-part*), and the text of the same, published in the Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xl, p. 16.



ancient times is, however, so far as my studies go, always of the triumphant, victorious and imperialistic type; while of the more subtle and moving patriotic verse of the conquered and helpless nation (that verse wherein Ireland stands supreme<sup>1</sup>), which can only strive to maintain its spiritual life under the more or less galling yoke of the foreign invader, and must sustain its sense of nationhood by memories of a glorious past and hopes of a happier future, there is hardly a trace in Persian or Arabic until this present century.

In this connection I may with advantage insert a translation of the Preface prefixed by Mirzā Aqā Khān of Kirmān, one of the first "Martyrs of the Constitution,"<sup>2</sup> to his *Sādr-udma*, a poem written in imitation of the *Shāh-udma*, of which the suppressed portions have been lately rendered accessible in the Introductory volume of the *Nāzimu'l-Islām's* "History of the Persian Awakening" (pp. 242—4):

"Having regard to the fact that I have made use in the compilation of this brief history of ancient monuments, old writings, and the substantial discoveries of contemporary historians, I have concluded the book also with an epic ending, after the fashion and method of the poets of Europe. Possibly some of the accomplished scholars and fortune-favoured men of letters of Persia may make me the object of attack on account of this, and may say, 'What sort of versification is this, and what kind of poetical composition, wherein, setting thyself in opposition to all the poets of Persia, thou hast come out from the circle of good manners and good sense, which it behoves all good tail-wagging trencher-lickers to observe, and, abandoning the straight and safe high-road of flattery and servility, takest upon thyself to speak words of so true and serious an import?' "*Travel the road as previous travellers have travelled.*"<sup>3</sup>

"To this I answer, trees must be known by their fruits, and

<sup>1</sup> I need hardly allude to the once proscribed but now justly admired "Spirit of the Nation"; but I should like to call attention to Alice Milligan's *Here Lays*, a most charming little volume of verses which should be more widely known. Amongst the plays of the Irish players, Mr W. B. Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlikan* seems to me the most beautiful and delicate expression of Irish Nationalist sentiment.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning Mirzā Aqā Khān and his *Sādr-udma*, see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 93-96 and 409-415.

deeds must be judged by their results. No one disputes the effectiveness or originality of the old poets and orators of Persia, nor does anyone contest the brilliancy and grace of their verses, while the insolent charm inherent in the poetry of many of the moderns is a matter on which all are agreed. But he must consider what sort of effect has hitherto been produced by the writings of our poets and men of letters, what kind of fruit has been borne by the tree which they have planted in the garden of song, and what results have been given by the seed which they have sown.

"The result of their exaggerations and hyperboles has been to concentrate falsehood in the simple natures of the people.

"The result of their praise and flattery has been to stimulate kings and ministers to the commission of all manner of vile and foolish actions.

"The result of their metaphysics and mysticism has been nothing but a crop of brutish idleness and sloth, and the production of religious mendicants and beggars.

• "The result of their odes to roses and nightingales has been nothing but the corruption of our young men's morals, and the impelling of them towards smooth cheeks and red wine.

"The result of their satires and *facetiae* has been nothing but the diffusion of vice and immorality and the promotion of sinful and reprehensible practices.

"If we examine the history of the poets of Islām and the patrons whom they flattered we shall say :

"It was the poems and panegyrics of Abū Nuwās and others like him which plunged the 'Abbāsid Caliphs into the folly of wine-drinking, mid-day slumbers, and other mischiefs.

"It was the *qasidas* of 'Unṣurī, Rūdagi, Farrukhī and others like them which destroyed and undermined the Royal Houses of Sāmān and Ghazna.

• "It was the 'Divine Metaphysics' and Mysticism of 'Irāqī and Maghribī and such as they which begot all these thriftless mendicants and worthless idlers.

"It was the flatteries of Anwarī, Zahrī [-i-Fāryābī], Rashīd [-i-Watwāt] and Kamāl [-i-Isfahānī] which produced such tyrannical, worthless and arrogant Kings.



"It was the erotic verses of Sa'di, Humâi, and such as they which utterly corrupted the morals of the youth of Persia.

"It was the satires and *facetiae* of Súzani, Sanâ'i (*sic!*) and others which gave such currency to immorality and sin,

"It was the detestable obscurities of Khâqâni and such as he which involved Mirzâ Mahdî Khân [the historian of Nâdir Shâh], and the Sâhib ['Alâ'u'd-Dîn 'Atâ Malik-i-Juwayni, the historian of the Mongols], and 'the Court Panegyrist' [*Wasṣaf-i-Haṣrat*] in their senseless inanities of verbiage.

"It was the long-winded rodomontades of Šabâ, the hair-splittings of Shihâb, and the Kulâh-julis and 'All-qulis of Qa'ânî which have to-day entirely obliterated love of virtue and hatred of vice from the natures of the Persian nobles, plunging them into extraordinary vices and vilenesses: even as God Most High says [*Qur'an*, xxvi, 224], '*As for the poets, the erring follow them.*'

"The poets of Europe have composed and do compose every variety of these poems, but they have brought poetry and the poetic art under so sound a scheme of arrangement, and have made their verses so conformable to the laws of Logic that they have no other effect than to illuminate men's ideas, dispel vain legends, endow their minds with insight, admonish the careless, educate the foolish, castigate the ignorant, incite men's souls to virtuous deeds, reprove and turn aside their hearts from vicious actions, admonish them and inspire them with zeal, patriotism and devotion to their people. This is the true meaning of '*Verily in poetry there is somewhat of wisdom.*'

"Yes, the proper effect of poetry is the stirring of men's hearts, the moving of their compassion, and the quickening of their understandings and thoughts; but it must impel them to virtues, piety and moderation, not to vile, evil and mean deeds, and the like. Of the Persian poets the only one whom European men of letters praise is that same Firdawsî of Tûs, the verses of whose *Shâh-nâma*, although in some places they are not free from hyperbole, do nevertheless, in some degree inspire in the hearts of Persians patriotism, love of their race, energy and courage; while here and there they also strive to reform their characters.

"I trust that the result of my own worthless verses may also shortly become evident and apparent in the world of humanity, and may hereafter be, alike to the eloquent and effective writer, a model and exemplar leading them to imitate the poets of Europe, so that they may realize that such poetry as does not convey some moral or lead to some philosophical conclusion is merely of the nature of empty phrases and idle tales and vapourings."

The views here advanced by Mirzá Áqá Khán are, of course, a monstrous exaggeration of the real facts, and I have only quoted them to illustrate the development amongst Persians also of a demand for patriotic poetry and for a note of greater sincerity and higher purpose in verse. His disparagement of the great classical poets is, in my opinion, ill-considered and unjustifiable: the noble mysticism of Jalálu'd-Dín Rûmî, the tender passion of Háfiz, and the practical wisdom of Sa'dî will never be superseded so long as the Persian language is spoken and studied. But this passion for the Fatherland is a new thing in Asia, or at any rate in Western and Central Asia, and it is perhaps natural and inevitable that its votaries should be impatient of the centuries of poetical talent devoted to other, and, in their eyes, less worthy objects.

Curiously enough it was the Ottoman Turks, a people far less original and talented than either the Persians or the Arabs, who, so far as the Near East is concerned, introduced the hitherto unknown ideas of "the Fatherland" (*Watan*), "the Nation" or "People" (*Millat*), and "Liberty" (*Hurriyyat*), and who succeeded in giving to these old words this new and potent significance. The origin of that movement, half literary and half political, associated with the "New Turks" (*Yeni Turkler*), or, as they are absurdly called, in phraseology which they themselves have now unfortunately accepted, "Young Turks," has been well sketched by my friend the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in the fifth volume of his monumental *History of Ottoman Poetry*, and is elaborated in much fuller detail in a supplement to that work compiled by the learned and ingenuous Dr. Rizâ Tevfîq, formerly Deputy for

Adrianople in the Turkish Parliament, which I am now translating into English and hope to publish before long. The pioneers of this movement, as is well known, were Shinâsî Efendi (died in 1871), Ziyâ Pasha (died in 1880), and Kemâl Bey (died in 1888), who was the greatest of the three. All these drew their ideas, both political and literary, from France, and the period of their greatest activity may be placed between 1863, when Kemâl, then only twenty-three years of age, joined forces with Shinâsî, and 1873, when he published his great patriotic play *Wâtan, yahûd Silistra* ("Silistria, or the Fatherland") of which the production at the theatre at Gedik Pasha caused so extraordinary an ebullition of feeling. These three eminent writers represent what Gibb calls the "Period of Preparation" (1859-1879) of Modern Turkish Poetry, the succeeding period, inaugurated in 1879 by the publication of 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hâmid Bey's *Şahrâ* ("the Country"), being what he terms the "Period of Achievement." Apart from his merits as a poet and dramatist, to Kemâl Bey undoubtedly belongs the credit of giving to the three old Arabic words mentioned above the new meanings of "Fatherland," "People" and "Freedom," not only in Turkey, but throughout the Muhammadan East. In classical Arabic *wâtan* means merely the place of birth or domicile; *millat* a religious community; and *hurriyyat* the state of a free man or one nobly born as opposed to that of a slave or plebeian; and Kemâl's great and enduring achievement was that he succeeded in giving to these words, not only in literary circles but in the mouths of the people, and not only in Turkey but in Persia and the Arabic-speaking lands as well, the full and exact significance of *Patrie*, *Peuple* or *Nation*, and *Liberté*; so that the humblest patriots who died on the Russian gallows at Tabriz in January 1912 cried with their last breath "*Yashasun Wâtan*" or "*Zinda hâd Wâtan*" in the full sense of "*Vive la Patrie!*"

Turkish patriotic poetry, as has been already suggested, is rather of the "Rule Britannia" than of the "God save Ireland" type, and contemplates death on the field of battle as the alternative to a glorious victory, rather than death on the gallows

<sup>1</sup> See Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. v. p. 19.



as the alternative to the renunciation of National aspirations. Of recent Turkish patriotic poetry a very interesting example is afforded by a little book entitled *Türkîya Şi'r-ler* ("Turkish poems") by Emin Bey, published in A.H. 1316 (A.D. 1898-9), the proceeds of the sale of which were assigned to the relief of the widows and orphans of Turkish soldiers killed in the war with the Greeks. This book, beautifully printed and illustrated, was produced at the celebrated printing-press of the late Ebu'z Ziyâ Tevfîq Bey, is prefaced by laudatory letters from Rijâ'î-zâde Ekrem Bey, 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hamid Bey, Dr Rizâ Tevfîq Bey, and other eminent contemporary Turkish poets and thinkers, and is remarkable for the extraordinarily Turkish quality of its vocabulary, from which every endeavour has been made to banish the Arabic and Persian elements prevalent in the older Turkish literary idiom. The author may be most briefly described as a Turkish Rudyard Kipling, and his poems as *Barrack Room Ballads* of the Imperial Ottoman Army. They bear such titles as "A Voice from Anatolia: or, Going to the War"; "Crossing the Greek frontier"; "After planting the Flag on Trikhâla (Tirhâla) Castle"; "the Martyr; or the Heart of 'Osmân"; "the Orphan Child; or Ahmed's Anxiety"; "O, Fatherhood! or, Zeynab's Prayer," and the like. The illustrations are of Turkish privates, filled with the rage of battle, flushed with victory, or charging with the bayonet; and the volume concludes with a martial song, set to music, of which the opening words are as follows:

بن بر ترکیم دینم جنم اولودر:  
 سینم اوزوم آتیشله طولودر:  
 انسان اولان وطننک قولودر.  
 ترک اولادی اوده طورماز—آه کیدرما!

"I am a Turk; my religion, my race are high;  
 My breast, my soul, are filled with fire!  
 Whosoever is a man is the servant of his Country!  
 The sons of the Turk stay not at home: O! I go!"

<sup>1</sup> In spite of the poet's desire to employ, as far as possible, a purely Turkish vocabulary, this one verse contains five Arabic and two Persian words.



Amongst the many bizarre developments of the most modern Turkish schools of poetry, including the "Coming Dawn" (*Fejr-i-Âtt*) and "New Literature" (*Edebiyyât-i-jedide*), with their "Symbolists," "Parnassians," "Pre-Raphaelites," and imitators of Mallarmé, Verlaine and the like, one known as the "New Tûrânian" (*Yeni Tûrân*), which has a magazine called *Türk Yurdu* ("the Turkish Folk" or "Hearth") as its special organ and counts Muhammed Emin, the poet just mentioned, amongst its chief supporters, merits a few words in this place, not so much on account of its literary as of its political peculiarities. This "New Tûrânian" school, of course, affects in its writings an excessively Turkish style, and endeavours as far as possible to eliminate the Arabic and Persian elements from its vocabulary, but, not content with this natural, and, to a certain extent, laudable desire to nationalize the language, it displays the most violent hatred of Arabic and Persian influences in all their forms, and even of the Arabs and Persians, especially the latter. It demands a federation of all the Turkish, Tartar, Mongolian and other allied peoples (including even the Bulgarians!) with a view to the ultimate creation of a new "Empire of Chingiz Khân." So far, indeed, does it go in its admiration for even the most barbarous forms of "Tûrânianism" that it idolizes the bloodthirsty Tamerlane (*Tîmûr-i-Lang*, or "Limping Tîmûr"), the scourge of Asia in the fifteenth century, and blames the Ottoman Sultan Bâyezîd "the Thunderbolt" (*Yıldırım Bâyezîd*) as a "rebellious vassal" who vainly strove to check the victorious advance of his Tûrânian overlord, whose advent he should rather have hailed with joy as the incarnate all-conquering martial spirit of the Tartar or Tûrânian race. This insane vandalism of the "New Tûrânian School" in Turkey may best be likened to the literary and artistic vagaries of Marinetti and the Italian Futurists.

Here I will conclude this brief review of certain aspects (not, in my opinion, devoid of significance and interest) of the literary activities which have accompanied the strange political movements witnessed in recent years in the Near and Middle East, of which the Persian manifestations are not the least interesting or the least significant. To Mr H. L. Rabino and Mirzâ Muhammad

'Alī Khān I have already expressed the measure of my indebtedness, and it only remains for me to thank Sir Albert Houtum Schindler, Mīrzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn, Dr Ahmad Khān Mīrzā Kāzīm-zāda, and other friends for help in correcting the proofs and solving doubtful points arising out of the text, as well as for aiding me to obtain some of the portraits which illustrate these pages. Of the other illustrations a few have already appeared in my *Persian Revolution*, but the majority are new, and represent cartoons, caricatures or title-pages of some of the more interesting newspapers mentioned in this book. The illustrated comic paper *Mullā Naṣrū'd-Dīn*, being written in Turkish and published at Tiflis, is not included in the *Alphabetical List of Newspapers*, but its influence in Persia was so great, and the artistic merit of its cartoons is so considerable, that I have included six typical specimens of the latter in these pages.

EDWARD G. BROWNE,

Feb. 7, 1914

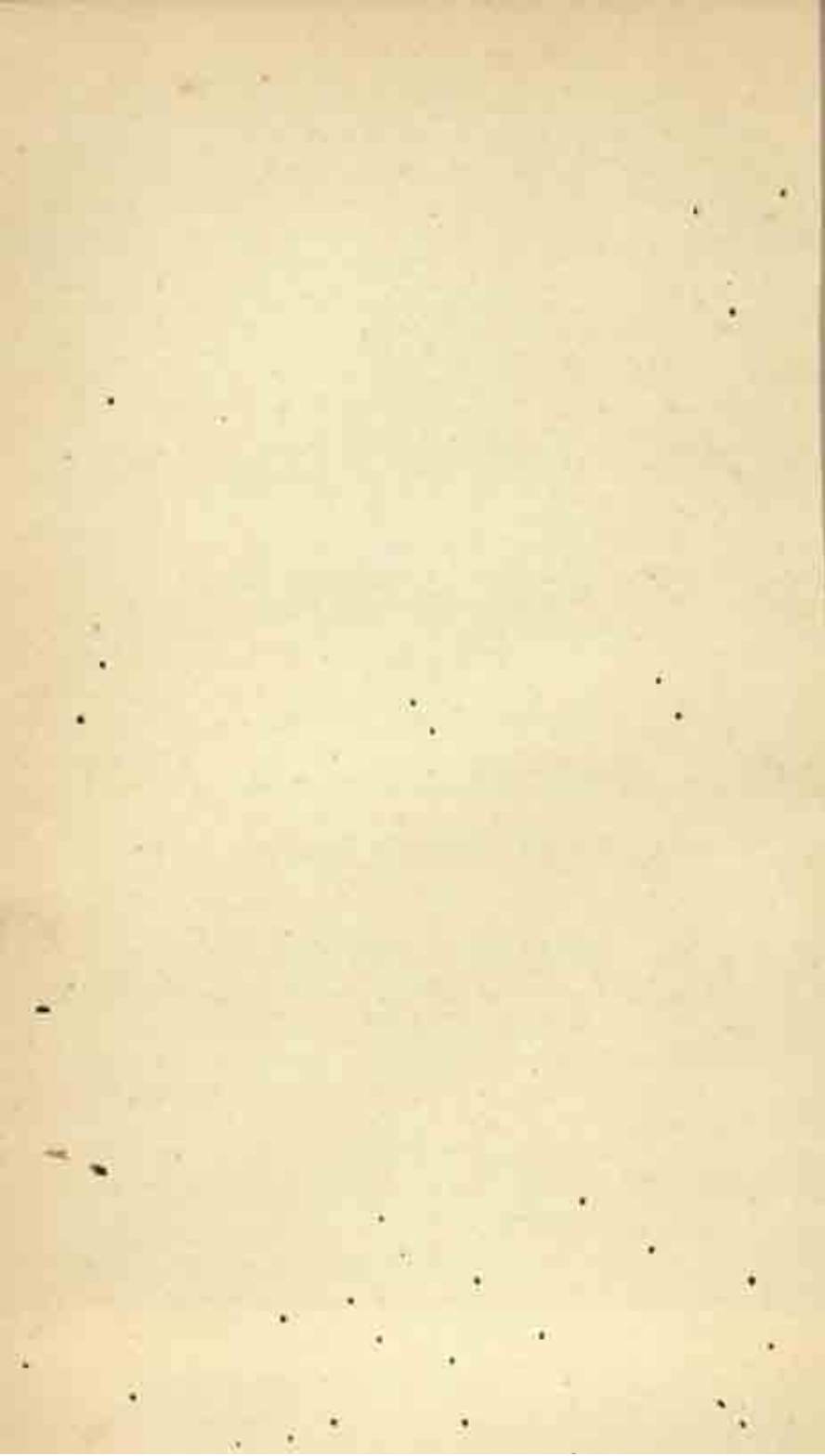
## PART I

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### List of Persian Newspapers, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

Compiled by Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat,"  
and translated into English

by  
EDWARD G. BROWNE.





## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

FOR the last fourteen years, during which first the *Tarbiyat* Library and then the office of the magazine entitled *Ganjina-i-Funûn* ("the Treasury of Arts") have served as centres of distribution and interchange for most of the Persian, Arabic and Turkish papers published in Persia, and have maintained epistolary and other relations with the chief educational centres, it has been my hobby to collect specimen copies of Persian newspapers, and I have exerted myself to make this collection as complete as possible<sup>1</sup>.

In the year A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899-1900) the Arabic magazine *al-Hilâl*, published in Cairo, then in its ninth year, printed an account of the history and enumerated the results of the new civilization in Persia, especially the printing-presses, newspapers and colleges<sup>2</sup>. Most of the information contained in this article was derived from Mirzâ Mahdî Khân, the editor of the Persian periodical *Hikmat* ("Wisdom"), also resident in Cairo. Delighted as I was at the publication of such information, partial though it was, I found it to be very defective, not only in relation to the facts, but even to such particulars as I myself had acquired. From that time onwards, accordingly, I resolved to publish a tabular summary of Persian periodicals, and devoted myself with still greater assiduity to acquiring the necessary information on this subject, and to completing my collection of newspapers. The political Revolution in Persia, however, left me no leisure for such work; and finally all the documents, books, and files of newspapers, magazines and papers which I possess were left in

<sup>1</sup> The *Tarbiyat* Library lasted from A.H. 1316 to 1326 (= A.D. 1898-1908). The *Ganjina-i-Funûn* was founded in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902).

<sup>2</sup> The article in question appeared in February, 1900 (*al-Hilâl*, vol. IX, pp. 252-263). The account of the Press, which is very short, is on pp. 262-263.

Tabriz and Tihrán, where they are at present beyond my reach<sup>1</sup>, else I should have been able to make this little pamphlet fuller and more complete.

At the beginning of this year (A.H. 1330 = January, 1912) I learned through some of my friends of the publication at Rasht of a treatise identical in aim with that which I had in view, entitled *A table of the newspapers of Persia, and of newspapers in the Persian language published outside Persia*, compiled in Persian by the learned and accomplished Mr H. L. Rabino, British Vice-Consul at Rasht<sup>2</sup>. Although I was thus anticipated in the execution of a design which I had long cherished, and for the fulfilment of which I had long sought opportunity, I was nevertheless greatly delighted at the appearance of so valuable a work, and felt myself deeply indebted to the respected author, to whom I at once wrote asking for a copy. This he was kind enough to send me, together with a letter informing me that copies had become scarce.

Having perused the above-mentioned treatise, which constitutes, indeed, one of the greatest services yet rendered by any foreigner to the literary history of Persia, and is a veritable treasury of information, arousing our admiration and amazement as to how all these particulars could be collected in one corner of Persia, I hesitated at first as to the publication of the data which I had myself collected and which I had with me in the form of scattered notes and memoranda. Indeed I almost decided to abandon my original intention; but after a little consideration, and a comparison of the facts collected on either side, I resolved not to neglect or cast aside this information, of part of which I have personal cognizance, but at least to publish

<sup>1</sup> Unhappily they are now for ever beyond human reach, for, as I recently learned from the author, who is now at Constantinople, these and all other papers were destroyed by his family when the Russians entered Tabriz in December, 1911, and inaugurated a Reign of Terror under which no one suspected of sympathy with Liberal ideas was safe.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian title of this admirable pamphlet is as follows:

صورت جراید ایران و جرایدی که در خارج ایران بزیان فارسی طبع شده است

It was printed at the 'Urmu'l-Wuṭaq Press at Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911), and comprises 30 pp. of 14" x 8½". A brief "Foreword" is contributed by Muḥammad Rīzā son of Ismā'īl of Rasht. \* Mr Rabino has now been transferred to Morocco.

it in some way, even in the form of disjointed notes, that perchance it may be of some little use to subsequent students who may be eager to collect details as to the preliminary signs of the Persian awakening, which will be my sufficient reward.

In comparing my own memoranda with the contents of the above-mentioned treatise, I discovered certain divergences and differences in the way of defect and excess on both sides. Chief amongst these differences were the names of 29 newspapers overlooked by me and of nearly a hundred overlooked by Mr Rabino, the remainder being included in both lists. And although it was not necessary that I should include in this compendium those with which I was unacquainted before I had read the above-mentioned treatise, yet, with a view to the completeness and comprehensiveness of this table of Persian newspapers, I supplemented my omissions and shortcomings from Mr Rabino's treatise, confident in the permission and approval of the respected author, whose sole object was the dissemination of the actual facts, but indicating in each case under the name of the newspaper in question the source of my information by means of the abbreviation "*S. J. I.*" (ص. ج. ا.), standing for صورت جرائد ایران, "*Šurat-i-Jard'id-i-Irān*" ("List of Persian Newspapers"), which is the title of Mr Rabino's pamphlet. Yet withal the rule maintains that "the superiority is to the pioneer, and the first in order are the first in merit."

As has been already explained, the greater part of the material collected by me was left in Persia amongst my other papers, and though I hope in another edition to complete, revise and supplement the particulars here set forth, yet for the moment I publish this abstract so that at least some small basis for further researches may be available.

I further deem it necessary to mention here several points in connection with the subjoined text, which points are as follows:

*First*, what is meant by the "date of publication of newspapers," so far as it is mentioned in this treatise, is the date of their foundation and inception.

*Secondly*, since a division of periods is historically necessary in the recent history of Persia to indicate the successive revolutions and the sequence of momentous and continual changes and great



public events whereby it is characterized, and since a special title and fixed designation is required for each cycle and period, and for each one of the great historical events which may be reckoned as stages and landmarks, and which serve as the starting-points of yet other events wherewith they are correlated and by which they must be judged, and since such division of periods and appropriate nomenclature has not hitherto been established, therefore many names and expressions occur in the course of these pages which need to be explained to anyone who has not carefully followed the successive events of recent years in Persia. Thus the term "Period of Autocracy" (*Dawr-i-Istibdād*) is applied to the period preceding the proclamation of the Constitution (14th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1324 = August 5, 1906); the "Reactionary Triumph" (*Waq'a-i-Irtijā'iyya*), "Coup d'État" (*Zarba-i-Hukūmat*), or "Bombardment of the *Majlis*" (*Tāpbandi-i-Majlis*: 23rd of Jumāda i, A.H. 1326 = June 23, 1908) to the destruction of the First National Assembly by command of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh and at the hands of Colonel Liakhoff; and the "Minor Autocracy" (*Istibdād-i-Ṣaghīr*), or "Cycle of General Revolution" (*Dawr-i-Inqilāb-i-ʿUmūmī*), or "Great Revolution" (*Inqilāb-i-Kabīr*), or "Revolution of Tabriz" (*Inqilāb-i-Tabriz*) to the period extending from the above-mentioned Bombardment to the second proclamation of the Constitution by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh after the intervention of the Russian and British Governments, which synchronized with the fall of Tabriz and the entry into it of the Russian troops, and the formation of the Cabinet of Sa'du'd-Dawla (Rabī' ii, A.H. 1327 = April-May, 1909). The conquest of Tīhrān and deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā (28th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1327 = July 17, 1909) is termed "the Restoration of the Second Constitution" (*Pāda-i-Mashrūfiyyat-i-thāni*). Other important events are the "Revolution of Gilān" (Rasht) on Muharram 16, A.H. 1327 (= Feb. 7, 1909); the "Revolution of Isfahān" (Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 = beginning of January, 1909); the last Russian Ultimatums; the sanguinary acts of aggression perpetrated by the Russians in Tabriz, Rasht and Anzali; the dissolution of the Second *Majlis* (beginning of Muharram, A.H. 1330 = December 21, 22, etc., 1911); the Bombardment of Mashhad (11th of



Rabi' ii, A.H. 1330 = March 30, 1912), *et cætera*. Thus the "first period of the Constitution" is the term applied to the period of freedom preceding the Bombardment of the First *Majlis*, and the "second period of the Constitution" to that succeeding the capture of Tih-rân.

*Thirdly*, the list of newspapers mentioned in this treatise is not confined to those published in Persian, but includes, besides the Persian newspapers published throughout the world, all newspapers published in Persia in whatever language (French, Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, etc.).

*Fourthly*, in the accounts given of the different newspapers, various details and notes, apparently foreign to the subject, have sometimes been included, which, though not directly connected with the account of the publication of the journal in question, have not been withheld because they may perhaps be of use for the history of the Persian Revolution, and because such information, including biographical particulars concerning their respective editors and their adventures, might otherwise be lost.

*Fifthly*, since, in addition to the account of the newspapers and magazines which fills the greater part of this compendium, something has been said of the general history of printing in Persia, and of the more useful books which had some effect on the progress, revival and awakening of that country, therefore I have entitled my treatise not "A List of Persian Newspapers," but "A Page from the History of the products of the Persian Press."

*Sixthly*, since, in spite of my endeavours to include in the following index as far as possible all newspapers published in Persian, and all newspapers published in Persia in some language other than Persian, it is probable that some may have escaped my notice (since many of them endured but a little while, like the *Sitâra-i-Sahârî*, or "Morning Star," which came into being and disappeared in Tabriz in A.H. 1325 = A.D. 1907-8, and were soon completely forgotten), I hope that should any of my readers know of any Persian newspaper omitted from this list, or detect any error in its contents, or be acquainted with any fresh materials or particulars concerning any one of them, or the biographies of their editors, publishers or staff, or the names of

their editors (where they are omitted), or the dates and intervals of their publication, and other like matters of every kind which have been omitted from my List, he will communicate such information to me as a service to knowledge and history, and to preserve such memorials of the Nation's life from destruction and loss. The same request applies in a still greater degree to the list of titles of useful books contained in the concluding portion of this treatise, since, so far as I know, this sample is the first small foundation in this subject.

Before concluding my remarks I must discharge the debt of gratitude and thanksgiving incumbent on me to.....my friend Edward Browne,.....Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Cambridge, to whom all Persians and those who use the Persian language, the whole community of Islām, and all lovers of Justice throughout the world owe a deep debt of gratitude, both on account of his fruitful services in rendering accessible to the public and reviving the memory of the works, literatures and histories of the Muhammadan nations, especially the Persians, and of his great and continued efforts, inspired by a love of Justice, in defending, both by speech and writing, in England particularly and in Europe generally, the rights of the down-trodden peoples of Islām against their cruel oppressors. In addition to all the claims which he has on the Persians generally and on me in particular, it is he who has encouraged and enabled me to publish these pages. With prayers for the endurance of his help and that the world of Islām may long continue to profit by his services, I conclude this Preface.

MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ "TARBIYAT."

CONSTANTINOPLE,

{15th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1330}

{June 1, 1912.

## INTRODUCTION

### (I)

THE date of the introduction of the printing-press into Persia nearly a century ago, during the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh Qājār and when 'Abbās Mīrzā *Nā'ibū's-Saltāna* was Crown Prince, was about A.H. 1232 (A.D. 1816-17). It was introduced into Tabriz by the efforts of the above-mentioned *Nā'ibū's-Saltāna*, while about the same time another printing-press was established at Tih-rān under the supervision of Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb *Mu'tamadū'd-Dawla*. In the latter were printed such books as the Holy Qur'ān, the *Jalā'u'l-'Uyūn*, the *Hayātu'l-Qulūb*, Practical Treatises on Jurisprudence, etc., each known as the "edition of *Mu'tamadū'd-Dawla*."

Amongst the first books printed in Persia were the *Ma'āthir-i-Sultānī* ("Royal Monuments") of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Beg Dunbulū, a history of the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh dedicated to the *Nā'ibū's-Saltāna* and printed at Tabriz in A.H. 1241 (=A.D. 1825-6), and a Treatise on Inoculation for Small-pox (*Risāla-i-Ābīla-kūbī*), also printed at Tabriz<sup>1</sup>. Neither from my own personal investigations nor from the perusal of Persian books can I find any indication of the existence of printing-presses in Persia prior to this date. And although I have seen it stated in some foreign scientific magazine that printing was first introduced into Persia in the year A.D. 1784 (=A.H. 1198-9) at Bushire, I have met with no trustworthy evidence in support of this assertion.

After this, according to the statement transmitted by certain persons, the *Nā'ibū's-Saltāna*, about A.H. 1240 (=A.D. 1824-5), sent one Mīrzā Ja'far of Tabriz to Moscow to learn the art of lithography and to bring to Tabriz the necessary apparatus, which

<sup>1</sup> Throughout these pages "printed" means printed with moveable types, lithographed books and papers being explicitly described as such. The word *chāp* in Persian includes both, the former being called *chāp-i-rasbī* ("lead-printed") and the latter *chāp-i-rangī* ("stone-printed").



he accordingly introduced and employed there. The well-known Mashhadí Asad Áqá "*Basma-ehl*" ("the Printer") of Tabriz (whose father and elder brother were amongst the founders of and partners in the first lithographic press, and who is still living and whose old press is still at work in Tabriz), also relates that Mírzá Sálíh of Shíráz, the *Wazír* of Tíhrán, sent at great expense one Mírzá Asadu'lláh, of the province of Fárs, to St Petersburg to learn the art of printing, and that on his return thence he founded at Tabriz, with the assistance of the late Áqá Rizá, father of the above-mentioned Mashhadí Asad Áqá, a lithographic press, the first book lithographed at which was the Holy Qur'án in the hand-writing of Mírzá Husayn the famous calligraphist. Five years later, at the Sháh's command, this press and its appurtenances were transferred to Tíhrán, where the first book printed was the *Díwán* of Nisháti Khán the poet. As Tabriz was the first Persian town into which the press was introduced, it became known by its Turkish name of *Báзма-кһана*<sup>1</sup>. After Tabriz and Tíhrán it was introduced to the following towns of Persia in chronological order: Shíráz, Isfahán, Mashhad, Anzálí, Rasht, Ardabíl, Hamadán, Khúy, Yazd, Qazwín, Kirmánsháh, Kirmán, Garrús and Káshán. In the remaining towns and villages of Persia the art of printing neither is nor ever has been practised, save at Urmiya, where it was introduced at an earlier date than in most of the towns above-mentioned<sup>2</sup>.

Amongst the older lithographed books are a good many military, mathematical and astronomical works printed at Tíhrán, such as the *Khulása* ("Compendium") of Mírzá Ja'far Khán, the *Jám-i-Jam* ("Goblet of Jamshíd") printed in A.H. 1272 (= A.D.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ehl*, now most commonly used in Persia for printing, is connected by the author with the word *chaw* (of Mongolian or Chinese origin) applied to the paper money introduced for a short and disastrous period into Persia by the Mongol ruler Gay-Khátu (A.D. 1291-2). The author's note on this will be found in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Various Christian missions began to arrive at Urmiya in Ázərbayján nearly thirty years ago: first the English and American Protestant missionaries, then the French Catholics, and latterly missionaries of the Russian Orthodox Church, all of whom, for the better diffusion of their respective doctrines, founded numerous religious institutions, such as colleges, hospitals, and printing-presses in the district, where there exist some 30,000 Chaldean or Syrian Nestorian Christians. The Americans in particular have for long possessed an important printing-press for the publication of English, Syriac and Persian works.



1855-6), etc., and some works of history and literature printed at Tabriz, such as the Histories of Peter the Great, published in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846), Charles the Twelfth (A.H. 1263 = A.D. 1847) and Alexander the Great, all three of which were translated by order of 'Abbās Mirzá *Nā'ibū's-Saltāna*; the geography entitled *Jahān-numā* ("the World-shower"), compiled by Mirzá Rafā'il; the *Burhān-i-Jāmī* ("Compendious Proof," a Persian dictionary explained in Persian, compacted from the older *Burhān-i-Qāṭī*, or "Decisive Proof"), compiled by Mirzá 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Muḥammad Mahdī of Tabriz, lithographed in A.H. 1260 (= A.D. 1844); the *Kullīyyāt*, or Complete Works, of Sa'dī in A.H. 1264 (= A.D. 1848); the *Shāhnāma*, or Book of Kings, of Firdawsī in A.H. 1275 (= A.D. 1858-9); the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863-4), the three books last mentioned being all in the hand-writing of the celebrated calligraphist 'Askar Khān Urdūbādī; and the *Dīwān* of Anwarī in A.H. 1266 (= A.D. 1849-50). Another class of old lithographs which are not devoid of importance consists of Persian almanacs and calendars in cypher published in various towns, such as the cypher almanac of Muḥammad Taqī Ahari, "printed in A.H. 1261 (= A.D. 1845) under the supervision of Mirzá Rīzā at the Press of Mullā Najaf 'Alī at Tabriz"; the cypher almanac of Mirzá Bāqir of Māzandarān, lithographed in A.H. 1265 (= A.D. 1848-9); the cypher almanac of Mirzá Asadu'llāh of Māzandarān in A.H. 1266 (= A.D. 1849-50), *et cætera*. One of the strangest things connected with the history of the art of printing in Persia from the time of its first introduction until the present day is that notwithstanding the chronological priority of the introduction of typography into Persia, it entirely went out of fashion in a short while, and that for a long time (more than fifty years) the presses of Persia confined themselves exclusively to lithography, until typography again became current and popular after the enthronement of Muẓaffarū'd-Dīn Shāh (A.D. 1896-1907).

The earliest newspapers in Persia, before the foundation of the newspapers of the present period which resemble those of other countries and kingdoms, consisted of brief news-sheets confined to the personal doings of the King. The writers of these were known as *Waqāyī-nigār* ("chroniclers of events"), a

post which now no longer exists, although its style and title has not yet disappeared. The foundation of the first newspaper of the present form and arrangement took place in the third year of the reign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh (who came to the throne in A.D. 1848) by the command and at the direction of Mírzá Taqí Khán *Amir-Nizám*. The first Persian newspaper which circulated in Tíhrán in the above-mentioned year was entitled *Rúsnáma-i-Waqáyi-i-Ittisfáqiyya* ("Diary of Casual Events"), and was a weekly publication. In size it resembled the usual smaller newspapers, like the daily *Hablu'l-Matin* of Tíhrán, and generally comprised four, but sometimes eight pages. The writer possesses a collection extending from No. 7 to No. 444, the former number being dated Friday the 17th of Jumáda i, A.H. 1267, corresponding with the last day of the Year of the Pig (= March 20, 1851)<sup>1</sup>, and the latter Thursday, the 17th of Šafar, A.H. 1276 (= Sept. 15, 1859). This was the first Persian lithographed newspaper published in Tíhrán<sup>2</sup>. In the year A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1),

<sup>1</sup> It was a weekly newspaper, and was published pretty regularly on Thursdays. The author of the *Mustaẓam-i-Nádiri* states that the first number appeared in the month of Rabī' ii, A.H. 1267 (= February, 1851). After No. 436 the paper appeared irregularly, until, about No. 480, it changed its title (while keeping the serial numbers) to the *Rúsnáma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alíyya-i-Írân* next mentioned in the text, and became an illustrated paper.

<sup>2</sup> From the recorded fact that in A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1) "the publication of newspapers was conferred on Mírzá Abū'l-Hasan Khán *Nagğāsh-háhl*" (i.e. "Chief Artist") it may be deduced that at that date and even before it there existed another official paper or papers besides the *Rúsnáma-i-Waqáyi-i-Ittisfáqiyya* and the *Rúsnáma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alíyya-i-Írân*, though as to the nature and titles of these I have been unable to ascertain anything definite. H. E. the *Ptimpidi's-Saltana* writes: "the above-mentioned Mírzá Abū'l-Hasan Khán *Šanī'u'l-Mulk* was not really a newspaper-editor but an artist, who was chiefly engaged in making designs of "the Lion and the Sun," and in drawing portraits of State notables. He was connected with the paper from its inception until the control of the Press passed to the late *Ptimpidi's-Saltana*, and, being an artist and directly connected with the Press, he started several illustrated papers, single numbers of which I possess." In another place he writes: "from the first the newspapers were associated with the Ministry of Sciences, until, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), while the *Ptimpidi's-Saltana* was Minister of Sciences, several newspapers were printed at the *Dārul-Funūn*. These Government papers never had a regular editor who signed his name to articles, but, while their publication continued, the editors were continually changed. Several were always chosen to write these papers, the choice of persons depending on the caprice of the Minister." H. E. the *Zakī'u'l-Mulk* writes: "the late Mírzá Hasan Khán *Šanī'u'l-Mulk*, called *Nagğāsh-háhl*, was at one time connected with the editing of the Government newspapers, and contributed illustrations to some of them. This was before the late *Ptimpidi's-Saltana*

when the superintendence of the Government Press and the printing of newspapers was conferred upon Mīrzā Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān Naqqāsh-bāshi-i-Ghifārī, entitled *Ṣanī'u'l-Mulk*, the *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Irān* ("Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia"), which was an illustrated continuation of that previously mentioned, was published with portraits of the leading men and notables of the Empire, and is accounted the first illustrated Persian newspaper. Afterwards, as it would appear, the name and title of this same newspaper was changed to *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat* ("State Gazette"). The writer has seen No. 622 of this paper, which is dated the 7th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, 1868), and is described as "printed in the workshops of the

undertook editorial duties." It must also be noted that the title of "Ministry of Sciences" came into use long after the introduction of the newspaper. From a consideration of the dates of No. 444 (the last in the author's possession), No. 456 (the last preserved in the British Museum), and No. 474 (the last in the possession of *Zahd'u'l-Mulk*) of the *Rūznāma-i-Waqfiyeh-i-Ittifaqiyya*, which dates are respectively Safar 17, A.H. 1276 (= Sept. 15, 1859), Jumāda i, 19, A.H. 1276 (= Dec. 14, 1859), and Rabi' ii, 18, A.H. 1277 (= Nov. 3, 1860), and from Rahino's statements that No. 471 of this paper was dated Muharram 18, A.H. 1277 (= Aug. 16, 1860), that No. 481 was entitled *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Irān* and was illustrated, and that in A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1) "the superintendence of the State Press and the publication of newspapers was conferred on the *Naqqāsh-bāshi-i-Ghifārī*, and the *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat* became an illustrated paper" (what is intended by this last being the above-mentioned *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Irān*), it results that the *Rūznāma-i-Waqfiyeh-i-Ittifaqiyya* appeared pretty regularly every Thursday until No. 426, after which it was published irregularly and often delayed; and that about No. 480, under the régime of the *Ṣanī'u'l-Mulk* it changed its name and form, and appeared under the title of *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Irān*, while preserving a serial numeration continuous with its predecessor, of which it was in part a continuation. No. 565 of the latter paper being dated, according to Rahino, Jumāda ii, 17, A.H. 1281 (= Nov. 17, 1864), and still preserving the same name. Perhaps it was still the same paper which afterwards became entitled *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat*, which, according to the official Year-books (*Salt-nama*), together with the *Rūznāma-i-'Aḥad*, was placed under the charge of 'Alī-qulī Mīrzā *Pīrādā's-Saltana*. Of this I have seen a copy of No. 622, bearing this very title, dated Jumāda ii, 7, A.H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, A.D. 1868). In the early days of the Ministry of Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn Khān *Sipāhshūr*, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), when the control of the Government newspapers passed out of the hands of the Minister of Sciences, and the Press Department (afterwards elevated into a Ministry) was founded and conferred on Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān *Ṣanī'u'd-Dawla* (afterwards *Pīrādā's-Saltana*), it again changed its name, and was entitled *Rūznāma-i-Irān*. In A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1903-4), when the Ministry of the Press was conferred on Mullā Muḥammad *Nadīm's-Sulṭān*, its name was once more changed to *Rūznāma-i-Irān-i-Sulṭān* ("the Royal Gazette of Persia"). Finally, a year and a half later, the Ministry of the Press was again conferred on Muḥammad Bāqir Khān *Pīrādā's-Saltana*.



State Printing-press in the auspicious College of the *Dārū'l-Funūn*." Even so in later days this same newspaper continued to be published, from A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) until the period of the Constitution, *i.e.* A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906), under the name of *Irān* ("Persia"), and again, in even later times (*i.e.* in A.H. 1329 = A.D. 1911) it was revived under the name of *Rūznāma-i-Rasmi-yi-Dawlat-i-Irān* ("the Official Gazette of the Persian Empire"), and used to report the deliberations of the National Consultative Assembly of Persia. The production of the first newspaper in Persia synchronizes with the foundation of the *Dārū'l-Funūn*, or École Polytechnique, of Tih-rān, the establishment of the Post to Āzarbāyjān and Fārs, and the institution of passports for Persian subjects travelling abroad<sup>1</sup>.

In the year A.H. 1283 (= A.D. 1866-7) another newspaper, entitled *Rūznāma-i-Millat* ("the National Gazette"), so-called to distinguish it from the *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat*, was published in Tih-rān.

After Tih-rān, the priority of which in the possession of newspapers is incontestable, the first and foremost of Persian towns in respect to the publication of newspapers is Shīrāz, where the newspaper *Fārs* was published in A.H. 1289 (= A.D. 1872-3)<sup>2</sup>, and after it come Isfahān and Tabriz, which were the respective capitals of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh's two eldest sons, rivals of long standing, Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā *Zillu's-Sultān* and the Crown Prince [afterwards Shāh] Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Mirzā. Thus in the year A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879), at the instigation of the *Zillu's-Sultān* and under the care and editorship of Mirzā Taqī Khān of Kāshān<sup>3</sup>, was founded the *Farhang* ("Culture") at Isfahān,

<sup>1</sup> A full statement of the establishment of passports and the regulations affecting them is inserted in No. 10 of the *Rūznāma-i-Waqayi'-i-Ittifiqiyya*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Rūznāma-i-Waqayi'-i-Ittifiqiyya* of A.H. 1275 (= A.D. 1858-9) there occur allusions to a paper printed in Tabriz, which would suggest that this city had the priority over Shīrāz.

<sup>3</sup> Mirzā Taqī Khān was conspicuous amongst the older generation of those who were learned in the new arts and European sciences, and was in his day a profound and accomplished scholar, especially devoted to the astronomical and natural sciences, on which he composed many treatises, which, having regard to the time when they were written, contain a mass of valuable information. His style and method of explanation are especially plain and simple. Of these works only two, so far as I am aware, the *Hadīqat-i-Tabi'iyya* ("Gardens of Nature") on Natural Science and Astronomy, and the *Tarbiyat-i-Afāl* ("Education of Children"), have been



and in the same year the newspaper entitled *Tabriz* at Tabriz. Both of these papers continued to be published and to circulate for a considerable time, and I have seen numbers of the *Tabriz* up to the third year of issue.

The first daily Persian newspaper was the *Khulāṣat-ul-Hawā'idith* ("Summary of Events"), printed and published in Tih-rān in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9), a small quarto sheet, printed with type on one side, and containing foreign telegraphic news, derived from the telegraphic summaries of current events transmitted from Europe to India by Reuter's Agency, under the title of "Public News," by the Indo-European Telegraph for publication in the Indian and other newspapers, of which a copy was furnished to the British Legation in Tih-rān and to the Shāh.

After the proclamation of the Constitution four daily newspapers began to appear under the names of the *Majlis*, *Nidā-yi-Waṣan*, *Hablul-Matin* and *Subh-i-Sādiq*, some of which at first appeared once a week, until by degrees they developed into daily papers. Of these the *Majlis* ("Assembly") was the first to publish the deliberations of the National Assembly. It was founded by Mīrzā Muḥammad Šādiq-i-Tabātabā'ī (son of Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Tabātabā'ī, the *Mujtahid*, one of the chief founders and supporters of the Persian Constitution) on the 8th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1324 (= Nov. 21, 1906). Again, after the deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā, several new daily papers appeared,

printed. In order fully to set forth the Author's position in the learned and social world, it may not be out of place to quote *verbatim* the long list of his titles and qualifications as given by himself on the title-page of the above-mentioned *Hādīq*. This is as follows:—"General Mīrzā Taqī Khān of Kāshān, possessor of the Order and Red Ribbon of the Second Degree of the rank of Colonel; the Gold Medal of the Military College; the Order of St. Anne of the Second Class, and the Order of St. Stanislas of the Second Degree, both conferred by the Imperial Russian Government; editor and chief writer of the former newspaper *Sīra* and the present newspaper *Farhang*; President of the Medical Society and Member of the Council of Notables (Section of Public Utility) of Isfahān; Honorary President of the Académie d'Étymologie de Bordeaux (Gironde); Honorary President of the Académie Byzantine of Constantinople; Corresponding Member of the Society of Oriental Arts and Scientific Treatises of St. Barthélémy; Honorary Member of the Surgical, Medical and Pharmaceutical Societies, etc." Exactly the same list of titles is found on the first page, that is the wrapper, of the *Hādīq-nā-Tabā'iyya*, printed in the *Farhang* Press at Isfahān, A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882-3).

amongst these being the *Irân-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), of the large folio size usual in foreign newspapers, which, in form and style, it resembled. Its first number was published on Saturday, the 7th of Sha'bân, A.H. 1327 (= August 24, 1909).

The appearance of scientific periodicals in Persia in the Persian language began with the publication of the *Rûznâma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Irân* ("Scientific Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia"), which from A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863-4) was published for the administration of the *Dârû'l-Funûn* (or École Polytechnique of Tihân) under the superintendence of 'Alî-qulî Mirzâ *P'tizâdu's-Saltana*. Another newspaper entitled *Rûznâma-i-'Ilmî* ("the Scientific Gazette") was in circulation in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876).<sup>1</sup>

The first scientific magazine (*jung*)<sup>2</sup> published in Persia was the periodical entitled *Ganjîna-i-Funûn* ("Treasury of Arts"), founded in Tabriz in the year A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3). The first number of it is dated the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da in that year (= Jan. 30, 1903), and it was published with the utmost regularity for a whole year. It was carried on by four friends of learning and culture in Tabriz, one of whom was the present writer, and

<sup>1</sup> As regards the foundation of the *Rûznâma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Irân*, Mr Rabino ascribes it to Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khân *Mushîru'd-Dawla*, better known as *Sipahkubâr-i-A'zam*. This is very improbable, since he returned to Persia and was made *Sipahkubâr* (Commander-in-Chief) in A.H. 1287 (= A.D. 1870-1) while Nâsir'u'd-Dîn Shâh was visiting the Holy Thresholds (i.e. Karbalâ and Najaf), and although, by permission, he paid a brief visit to Tihân from Constantinople in the very year wherein this paper first appeared, i.e. A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863-4), was made a Member of the Council of the Empire, and remained for some months in Tihân ere he returned to Constantinople, at that time he did not bear the title of *Sipahkubâr*, which was held by Mirzâ Muḥammad Khân Qâjâr. It is therefore possible that the paper ascribed to Mirzâ Ḥusayn Khân was the *Rûznâma-i-'Ilmî*, which began to be published during the time when he was actually *Sipahkubâr*; or else the *Rûznâma-i-Nizâmî* ("Military Gazette"), both of which papers are mentioned in this compendium. Perhaps the founder of the *Rûznâma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Irân* was the *P'tizâdu's-Saltana* himself, under whose management it continued until the end.

<sup>2</sup> The title of "Review" (*dawr*) is applied in Europe to papers which contain lengthy scientific, literary, political or historical articles rather than news of current events, which are generally provided with a cover, and which are not published daily, but at regular intervals of time, in the form and size of a tract or of the sheets of a book. In contemporary Arabic they are called *Majalla* and in Turkey *Majma'a*, but in my opinion the best name for them in Persian is *jung* or *Safina*, by which titles we have designated them, for in old books the same kind of records and note-books were called *jung*, just as *farida* is the name of another kind of note-book.

the three others Sayyid Hasan Taqī-zāda, Member of the First and Second National Assemblies; Mirzā Sayyid Husayn Khān, editor of the newspapers *Hadūd*, *ʿAdalat*, *Ṣulḥat* and *Khābar*; Mirzā Yūsuf Khān *Iʿtisām-i-Daftar*, originally of Āshitiyān, who here made use of the signature "Y. Y.", and who afterwards became *Iʿtisāmūʾl-Mulk*, editor of the magazine *Bahār* ("Spring"), and Member of the Second National Assembly; and it soon achieved popularity. Although some papers of a scientific character, as has been already mentioned, existed before it, such as those enumerated above, and the *Miftāḥuʾz-Zafar* ("Key of Victory"), printed at Calcutta and owned by the *Ḥabluʾl-Matnu* office, yet these in form and size were like newspapers, news-sheets and journals, and were not arranged like what are known in the terminology of Europe as reviews and magazines. After this scientific magazine, the periodicals known as *Faldhat-i-Muqaffari* (scientific), *Majmūʿa-i-Akhlāq* (ethical), *Darwatuʾl-Haqq* (religious), *Bahār* (literary), and *Āftāb* (literary and scientific) are each worthy of esteem and praise in their respective spheres, on which account their appearance is recorded in the List of newspapers and magazines contained in this brief history.

The first satirical, comic, or derisive Persian paper was the *Tulūʾ*, published at Bushire in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1), founded and edited by ʿAbduʾl-Ḥamid Khān *Matnuʾs-Saltāna*, who was subsequently a Member of the Second National Assembly. After this came the *Āzarbāyyān*, published by ʿAlī-qulī Khān, known as Safaroff, formerly editor of the *Ihtiyāj* ("Need"), at Tabriz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), and printed with moveable types and coloured pictures and caricatures<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The editor of this paper published in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9) another paper entitled *Ihtiyāj*, which, after the publication of seven numbers, was suppressed by order of Hasan ʿAlī Khān Garrusi *Amīr-Niṣām* (agent and governor of Āzarbāyyān during the time when Muḥammad ʿAlī Mirzā was Crown Prince) on account of an article in which he had criticized in a ridiculous manner the need of the Persian people in every branch of life of foreign goods, such as tea-pots and the like. In addition to this, the above-mentioned editor was submitted to the degrading punishment of the bastinado; but after a little while he changed the name of his newspaper to *Zuhd* ("Progress") and began to publish it again, but it did not last long, and only a few numbers were issued. Wonderful to state, the above-mentioned ʿAlī-qulī Khān, after the suspension of his newspaper, accepted a most detestable service, and became



During the Constitutional Period satirical and comic papers became numerous and varied. Such were the *Kashkál*, *Taubih*, *Hasharátu'l-Arz*, *Buhlál*, *Shaydá*, *Shaykh Chughundor*, etc. Of these the first, third and fourth were elegantly got up, pleasing and worthy of perusal. Of this class the satirical portion of the *Šár-i-Isráfil* ("Trumpet-call of Isráfil"), which appeared under the heading *Charand-Parand* ("Charivari"), held the first place in this category, and may usefully be mentioned here, for the paper entitled *Mullá Nasrú'd-Din*, which began to be published at Tiflis in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7) in the Ázarbáyjáni Turkish dialect, under the editorship of Mirzá Jalál Muḥammad-qulí-záda of Nakhjuwán, a man well acquainted with Persian customs, and which was one of the best and most entertaining papers of this sort, and, indeed, unrivalled in the Oriental world, inasmuch as it used to discuss Persian matters also, had a very important historical influence in those parts of Persia bordering on the Caucasus and even in Tihrán itself, and the *Charand-Parand* column in the *Šár-i-Isráfil* was wholly indebted to and inspired by it in its form and style, the writer, Mirzá 'Alí Aḡbar Khán of Qazwín, known as "*Dakhaw*" or "*Dih-Khuddi*," being acquainted with the Ázarbáyjáni dialect.

The appearance of illustrated newspapers in Persia dates from the year A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1), when, as has been already mentioned, the official Gazette became illustrated under the editorship of the *Nagqdsh-hásh*. The illustrations of the illustrated papers *Sharaf* and *Sharáfat* deserve mention on account of the excellence of the drawing and beauty of the typography, and the *Ázarbáyján* and *Hasharátu'l-Arz* ("Reptiles of the Earth") on account of their polychromatic printing.

The first paper published in Persia in a foreign language was the French paper *La Patrie* (*Wafán*), of which one single number was issued on the 5th of February, 1876 (= A.H. 1293).

The chief and director of the spies or secret police of the tyrannical Crown Prince (Muḥammad 'Alí Mirzá), which organisation was one of the primary causes of the disgust and dissatisfaction of the people of Tabriz at the institutions of the old, or autocratic, régime, and was an important factor in determining the strength of the Revolution at Tabriz. After the establishment of the Constitution, however, 'All-qulí Khán repented of his deeds, and died early in A.H. 1326 (Feb. 1908) while actively employed in the National Service.

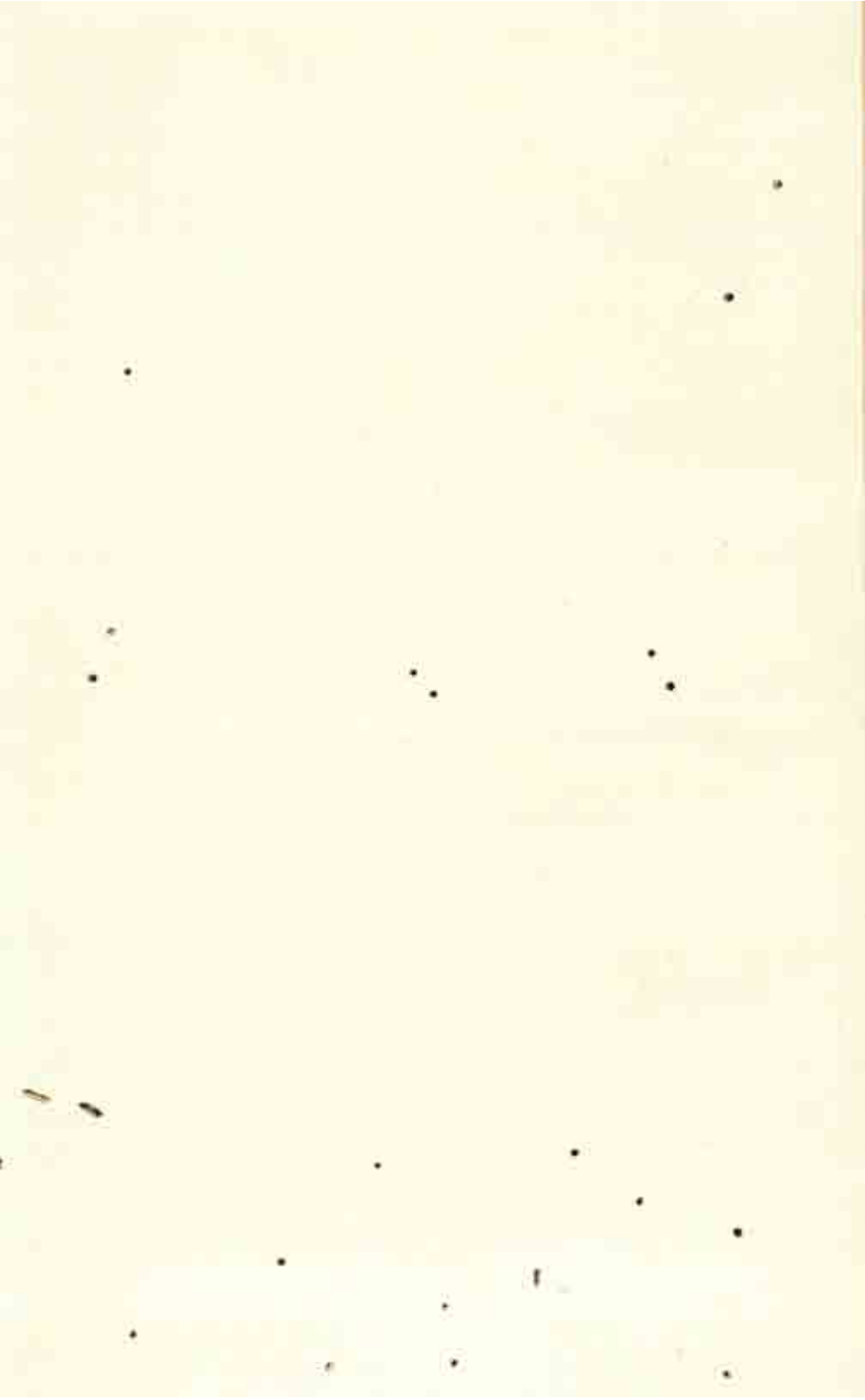




بد توابع کو چکر لگادی من برد توابع ہمیں (سائنسی چکر لگادی من - چارہ نہیں)

"How shall I deal with the turbaned locusts?"

(From *Abulhasi Nazim-ul-Din*, No. 19, May 25, 1907)



The editor of this paper, Baron Louis de Norman, a Belgian, was brought to Tihrán in 1875 by Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, but the inkling of freedom perceptible in the first number proved displeasing to that monarch, and the paper was therefore suspended and its editor dismissed. After this the *Echo de Perse* (*Šadā-yi-Irān*) was published for some time, under the editorship of a Frenchman, Dr Morel. It lasted from March 21, 1885 (= A.H. 1302) to February 15, 1888<sup>1</sup>.

Amongst other noteworthy newspapers one which is worthy of mention and not devoid of importance was a woman's paper entitled *Dānish* ("Knowledge") founded in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) by the wife of Mirzá Husayn Khān *Kahhāl* ("the Oculist").

The freedom of the Press for papers published in Persia did not exist until the end of the reign of Násiru'd-Dín Sháh, but outside Persia several papers were in circulation each of which strove for a while to awaken and arouse men's thoughts. Their editors had to endure all kinds of losses and troubles. Some of these papers were from time to time prohibited from entering Persia, yet notwithstanding this they continued to be sent enclosed in books or envelopes. The *Akhbar* ("Star") was the first Persian newspaper printed outside Persia. Its founder and editor was Āqā Muḥammad Tāhir of Tabriz, who is still living, and who inaugurated it at Constantinople in A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875) at the instigation of Mirzá Najaf-qulī Khān, one of the officials of the Persian Government in that city, and author of the book entitled *Misānu'l-Mawāzin* ("the Measure of Measures"). It was published for more than twenty years, and was ultimately suspended in A.H. 1313 (= A.D. 1895-6) by the Ottoman Government. This newspaper attained such importance in Persia that the term *Akhbar* came to be applied to the purveyors of newspapers, and that news of current events was discussed in assemblies and meetings on its authority. The light of civilization shone from its pages on the people's hearts, and the taste for reading newspapers was derived from it. Wonderful to relate, this newspaper

<sup>1</sup> The above-mentioned Dr Morel subsequently passed his life in the service of the Government at Tihrán and in teaching in the Colleges, and finally died on his way home to France, at the age of about 35, in 1910.

in course of time acquired such fame in the Caucasus, Persia, Turkistán, India, 'Irâq (Mesopotamia), etc., that in some districts of the Caucasus the common people, who regard the reading of newspapers as improper and culpable, were wont to call those of better quality who habitually read them *Akhtari-mas-hab* ("Sectaries of the 'Star'"), regarding "*Akhtar*" as the designation of a sect.

The *Akhtar* was always in each period of its existence the lamp of all assemblies of cultivated men and the centre round which rallied the most accomplished and enlightened of the Persian exiles, and was maintained by the literary co-operation of patriotic scholars. Thus amongst others who worked on this paper were the late Mîrzâ Âqâ Khân of Kirmân, author of many works; and Shaykh Ahmad-i-Rûhî<sup>1</sup>, also of Kirmân, two of the earlier martyrs of the cause of Freedom; Mîrzâ Mahdî of Tabriz (now editor of the *Hikmat*—"Wisdom"—at Cairo)<sup>2</sup>; Mîrzâ 'Alî Muḥammad Khân of Kâshân, editor of the *Thurayyâ* ("Pleiades") and *Parwarish* ("Education"); and Hâjji Mîrzâ Mahdî of Tabriz, who was subsequently the principal writer and acting editor of the paper until it came to an end.

After the *Akhtar*, Prince Mîrzâ Malkôm Khân *Nâgimû'd-Dawla*, son of Mîrzâ Ya'qûb Khân, an Armenian of Julfâ of Isfahân<sup>3</sup>, who had lately been dismissed from the office of Persian envoy at the Court of St James's, founded and put in circulation a newspaper called the *Qânûn* ("Law") in London in A.H. 1307 (= A.D. 1890)<sup>4</sup>. It was written by himself, and produced an important revolution in men's opinions, while its simple style of writing and peculiar form made people eager and desirous to read it. Several new terms, such as *Qânûn* ("Law"), *Ta'gimât* ("Reforms"), *Uṣûl-i-Idâra* ("Principles of Administration"), etc.,

<sup>1</sup> Some account of these two talented and unfortunate men will be found on pp. 93-95 of my *Persian Revolution, 1905-1909*. They were both put to death at Tâbris, together with Mîrzâ Hasan Khân *Akhtar-i-Mulk*, on July 17, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> His title is *Za'imû'd-Dawla*, and he has written in Arabic a history and refutation of the Bâbîs entitled *Miftâḥu Bâbî'l-Abwâb* ("the Key of the Gate of Gates").

<sup>3</sup> "Julfâ of Isfahân" is so called to distinguish it from Julfâ on the Araxes, on the Russo-Persian frontier.

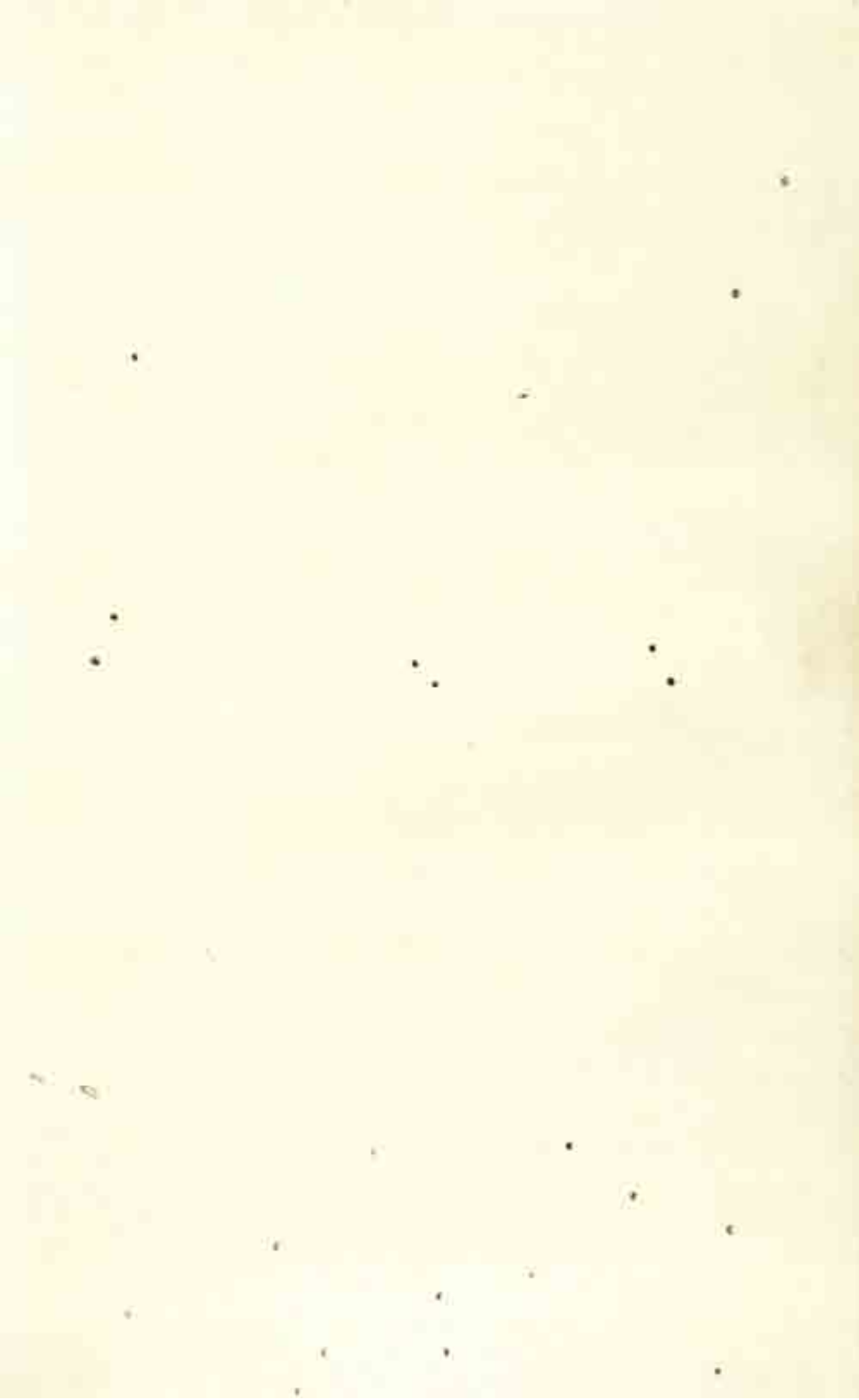
<sup>4</sup> See pp. 32-42 of my *Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*. The first number of the *Qânûn* was published on Feb. 20, 1890, and it continued to appear about once a month until No. 41.





Prince Malkom Khán *Názimü'd-Dawla*

Born at Isfahán in A.H. 1249 (A.D. 1833-4), died at Rome in A.H. 1326 (A.D. 1908)



passed from this newspaper into the current Persian language, and came into general use. By reason of the incomparable style and expression of Mīrzā Malkom Khān in Persian, this became the best newspaper in the Persian language, and, by reason of its effects, has an important historical position in the Persian awakening. In short, the writings of Mīrzā Malkom Khān have, generally speaking, a great twofold historical importance in the political and literary revolution of the latest Persian Renaissance. Politically they were one of the chief supports of the promoters of the Revolution and the renovation of Persia, and the founders of the movement of the *Risorgimento*; while from the literary point of view they were the sole originator of a peculiar style at once easy and agreeable.

After these two newspapers, the *Hablu'l-Mattu* ("Firm Cord") began to be printed in Calcutta in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893-4), and the *Hikmat* ("Wisdom") in Cairo in A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892-3). Both of these papers still continue to be published.

# (16)

Some of the older publications, tracts and books and more especially certain newspapers, apart from other aspects, possess also a special historical importance deserving of closer investigation, because of their influence in bringing about the Persian Revolution and their connection with this matter. For in examining the causes and means which produced the prodromata of this Revolution it will be established that these publications also were an important agent, and hold a conspicuous place amongst numerous other influences.

It is evident that we must seek the causes and antecedents of the great historical Revolution of A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) and the succeeding period in conditions which preceded it, and those who have investigated this matter have detected and discovered the germs of the embryo which was born at that date in a period twenty years earlier.\* Now as regards this class of revolutionary agencies and influences, that is to say publications designed to awaken the people and stir their thoughts, one may say that the earliest go back to a period antecedent to the Revolution by at

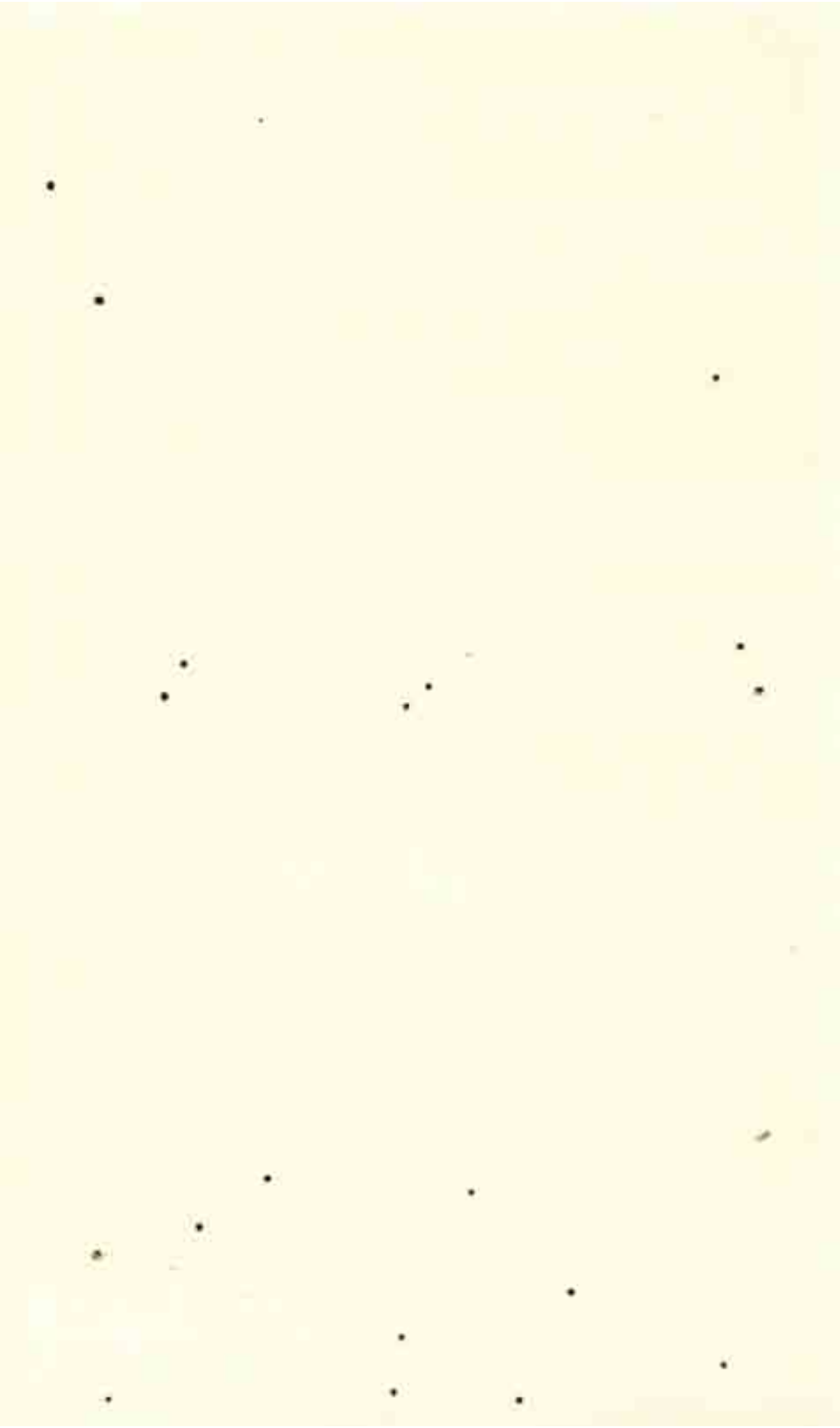
least thirty years. In this category we include in particular those publications which contained criticisms, mild or vituperative, of the principles of administration; complaints of the current methods of government; and a revolt against the prevalent soul-destroying autocracy. Of these the first place, alike by reason of their influence, eloquence and lofty attitude, and in virtue of their chronological priority, belongs to the tracts of Prince Malkom Khān, which were first circulated in Tihhrān in manuscript copies amongst Court circles and the notables of the kingdom, and afterwards passed from hand to hand throughout the whole of Persia<sup>1</sup>; but of these numerous treatises, which may perhaps exceed thirty in number (most of which the writer has seen) only a few, such as the *Uṣūl-i-Maz-hab-i-Dīwānīyān* ("Principles of Conduct of Officials"), *Hubbū'l-Waṭan minā'l-Imān* ("Patriotism is a part of Faith"), and his Introduction to the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī printed with the new types invented by him and advocating the necessity of a reform in the alphabet, etc., were printed in Europe and published<sup>2</sup>.

After the writings of Prince Malkom Khān; the newspaper *Akhbar* ("Star"); the writings of the late Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān *Mustashārū'd-Dawla* of Tabriz, martyred in Qazwin; and the

<sup>1</sup> Were it not beyond the scope of this treatise, which deals only with printed publications, we should like to glance at some of the manuscript tracts and writings of the earlier Persian reformers which circulated amongst the people, and inspired the older progressives, since these also were in their way not devoid of historical importance. Of such were the Epistles of Kamālū'd-Dawla; the critical observations on the *Kamshatū's* *Ṣafat-ye-Nāṣir* of Mīrzā Fath-'Alī Akhundoff of Tiflis, author of several Turkish plays translated into Persian; other little-known tracts of Prince Malkom Khān; certain tracts in manuscript by Mīrzā Aqā Khān, such as the *Sa'f Khāṣṣa* ("A hundred Addresses"), *Riḥat*, etc.; the *Siyāhat-nimes* ("Book of Travels") of Farrukh Khān *Amīnū'd-Dawla*; *Mahabb* and *Hāshim*, a pleasant treatise, written in the form of a comedy by Mīrzā 'Abdū'l-Husayn Khān *Mo'allifū'd-Dawla*, and the like, which considerations of space prevent us from discussing more fully.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Malkom Khān composed numerous treatises concerning the reform of the alphabet, such as the *Mabḍa-i-Taraqqī* ("Source of Progress") and the *Shaykh u Wazir*, which were never printed, and also, in order to familiarize men with the alphabet which he had invented, he printed several books in that alphabet, such as the above-mentioned *Gulistān*, the "Sayings of 'Alī," the "Writings of Humanity" (*Khuṭūṭ-i-Adamiyyat*), etc. After the inauguration of the Constitution a collection of these manuscript writings was printed at Tihhrān, but it is very badly edited and contains many errors.







paper *Qānūn* ("Law"), mention must be made of certain "jelly-graph" publications which first became known at Tabriz, under the name of *Shab-nāma* ("Night-books"), and which were issued by 'All-qulī Khān, editor of the *Ihtiyāj* and some others, and the *Talqin-nāma-i-Irān* issued in Tabriz during the reign of Nāsi'u'd-Dīn Shāh in the form of the admonition addressed to the dying (*talqin*), of which a garbled copy was subsequently published in the paper *Irshād* at Bākū during the period of Liberty, and which begins thus:—

"O servant of God, and son of the servant of God, hear and understand! When there come to thee the proximate envoys from the Russians, the English and the House of 'Othmān (i.e. the Ottoman Turks), and ask thee concerning thy colleges, thine army, thy roads, thine arts, thy commerce and thy sciences...fear not, be not grieved, and say in answer to them..." etc. There was also another "jelly-graphed" newspaper printed at Constantinople under the name *Shah-seven* ("King-lover," the name of a well-known group of tribes in N.W. Persia), under the title of which was written, "one number is published every forty years," and which used to criticize the old methods and principles of administration in a very entertaining and laughable manner. There were also the secret "jelly-graphed" newspaper-like publications produced in Tih-rān under the names *Lisānu'l-Ghayb* ("Tongue of the Unseen") and *Ghayrat* ("Zeal"), etc., and the *Rūznama-i-Ghaybī*, written in Isfahān and printed in St Petersburg. This last was ascribed to the late *Maliku'l-Mutakallimīn* (one of the most eminent victims of the *Coup d'Etat* of June 23, 1908) and was chiefly

<sup>1</sup> These publications were issued during the years A.H. 1319-20 (=A.D. 1901-2) on the part of a secret committee consisting of Mirzā Muḥammad 'All Khān, who died a martyr to the cause, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alī "Mubād," Hājji Mirza Ḥasan "Rushdiyya," Shaykh Yahyā of Kāshān, etc. They consisted chiefly of attacks on the *Amīnu'l-Sulṭān* (or *Atish-i-A'zam*) and his administration, and exposures of the way in which he was selling the country to the Russians. In one of the later numbers there appeared a fragment of poetry, after the manner of, and containing quotations from, an ode of Hāfiz, which is worthy of notice. Considerations of space do not permit us to quote it here in its entirety, but we give one verse which forecasts in a manner almost prophetic the end of this Minister (who was assassinated by 'Abdūs Aqā on August 31, 1907, the day on which the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed):—

"O man of base appetites, why wilt thou drain the dregs of the Russians' cup?  
For this dark cup in the end kills the guest."

directed against the tyrannies of the *Zillu's-Sultān*. Mention must also be made amongst others of the *Hammām-i-Jinniyān* ("Genies' Bath"), which was "jelly-graphed" in Tih-rān during the last days of the autocracy. Since we shall consider briefly in the Conclusion of this treatise the printed books and treatises which, from the earliest times until the present day, whether by peaceful methods of progress and evolution, like scientific books or political pamphlets moderate in tone, or in a revolutionary manner, by attacks on the Government and other classes, had an effect in awakening the people's minds, therefore we shall here only mention and indicate those publications which were directly and obviously connected with the last *risorgimento* and the course of that freedom-loving revival and revolution, especially such as explicitly blamed and criticized the prevalent methods of government.

In this category the books of Hājji Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Ṭaliboff of Tabriz, and especially the *Kitāb-i-Aḥmad*, or *Safina-i-Ṭalibī*, in two volumes, had a specially great effect which cannot be denied. So also the *Siyāhat-nāma* ("Book of Travels") of Ibrāhīm Beg, especially by reason of its approximate coincidence in time with the outburst of the matter of disaffection, and its suitability to the occasion as regards the general disgust and aversion of the people of Persia to the ruinous and scandalous procedures which characterized the reign of Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh, had a great effect and won a wide popularity. We must also mention amongst the books which had an effect in bringing about the National Awakening the translation into Persian by Mīrzā Ḥabīb of Isfahān and Shaykh Aḥmad Rūhī of Kirmān of Sir John Morier's *Hājji Bābā*; the Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, which were translated and added as a supplement to the Year-book, or *Sāl-nāma*, of A.H. 1313 (= A.D. 1895-6), and which, on their publication, aroused the extreme anger of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, who caused all copies of them to be confiscated and destroyed; the stories of Alexandre Dumas translated into Persian; and a few other books translated and published during the later days of Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh. But the most important factors in the Revolutionary movement, as voicing the public complaints and dissatisfaction and the disgust of the people



at the principles on which the administration was conducted, were undoubtedly the newspapers, amongst which (leaving aside the *Akhtar*, which was relatively mild) the *Qānūn* holds the first place. After it the greatest influence on public opinion was exerted by the newspapers *Thurayyā* and *Parvarish*, written by Mirzā 'Alī Muhammad Khān-i-Shaybānī of Kāshān, which produced results much wider and more conclusive than even the *Qānūn*, and in the years A.H. 1316-18 (= A.D. 1898-1901) effected a great intellectual revolution amongst young Persians, stirring up public opinion and filling the creatures of the Court with consternation. The coincidence of the publication of these newspapers with the Anglo-Boer War is also an important point. At this date the *Hablu'l-Matn* and the *Hikmat* held the next place to the *Thurayyā*, and exercised a considerable influence. Besides these Persian newspapers, four papers written in Caucasian Turkish, the *Sharq-i-Rūs* ("Eastern Russia") and *Mullā Nasrū'd-Dīn*, published at Tiflis, and the *Irshād* ("Direction") and *Hayāt* ("Life") published at Bākū, were not without effect on the more enlightened classes in Āzarbāyjān.

During the period of the Constitution the awakening of thought increased both in speed and extent, and the newspapers had a great influence and an important share in the renovation of public opinion, especially the reports of the debates in the *Majlis* (National Assembly), which were published in the newspaper entitled *Majlis* and other organs of the Press. The *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl* and *Irān-i-Naw* also did good work in enlarging men's minds, and the *Sharāfat*, *al-Jamāl*, and the *Chanta-i-Pābarahna*, etc., in awakening the common people.

In a general survey of the newspapers and magazines, and a critical estimate of their respective values, we must state it as our opinion that, in point of literary style and expression the best of the older ones (that is, of those antecedent to the Revolution of A.H. 1324 = A.D. 1906) were the *Qānūn* of Mirzā Malkom Khān, and the *Thurayyā* and *Parvarish* of Mirzā 'Alī Muhammad Khān, and among the later ones (that is, those subsequent to the Revolution) the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*, *Tamaddun*, daily *Hablu'l-Matn* of Tih-rān, *Irān-i-Naw*, and *Tiyātr*. The boldest in their language were the *Rūhu'l-Qudus*, *Musāwāt*, *Jihād-i-Akbar*, *Naw-Bahār*, *Sharq*, *Barq*, *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl* and *Suhbat*, while amongst these the moral courage of the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*

in criticizing the spiritual authorities, and the *Shuhbat* in condemning prevailing customs are specially noteworthy.

The most amusing of the comic or satirical papers was the *Charand-parand* column of the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*, the *Zisht u Zibā* ("Foul and Fair") of the *Nāqūr*, the literary column of the *Sharq* and *Našm-i-Shimāl*, and the newspapers *Āzarbāyjān*, *Hašharātūl-Arṣ*, *Kashkūl* and *Buhlāl*.

The simplest of the Persian newspapers in style were the *Qaṣn* of Malkom Khān, *al-Jamāl*, the *Sharāfat*, the *Hikāyat-i-Jān-gudāz*, and the *Chanta-i-Pā-barahna*, the last of which was specially important in another way by reason of its diffusion of liberal ideas amongst the villagers and common people, and its success in awakening their minds by means of language easily understood by them.

The most firmly established and prosperous of the Persian newspapers, with the exception of the *Mufarrihūl-Qulūb*, were the *Akhtar* and the *Hablu'l-Matin* of Calcutta, whose great services in later times cannot be compared with those rendered by any other paper.

Amongst the illustrated newspapers the finest in point of illustration were the *Sharāfat* and *Sharaf*, and after them the *Adab* and the *Āzarbāyjān*.

The *Tarbiyat*, *Adab* and *Bahār* must be reckoned first amongst the Persian literary papers.

Of all these newspapers only three openly championed the cause of autocracy, namely the *Uqyānūs*, *Ay Mullā 'Amā* and the *Fikr* ("Thought"), while the broadsides published by Shaykh Fazlu'llāh and his followers at Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīm, where they had assembled and taken sanctuary in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), against the National Assembly, if these be reckoned as newspapers, were the most important of the reactionary organs, and have a special significance in the history of the Persian Revolution.

There exist also amongst these newspapers two which, unlike the others, though written in Persian had no particular concern with Persia nor any special reference to its affairs, namely, the *Sirāju'l-Akhbār* ("Lamp of News") published at Kābul in Afghānistān, and *Bukhārā-yi-Sharīf* ("Bukhārā the Holy"), published at New Bukhārā in Turkistān, besides some of the Persian newspapers published in India, etc.

Before the Constitution the circulation of newspapers in Persia and the number of those who read them were very restricted. Those which enjoyed the largest circulation at that time were perhaps the *Thurayyá*, *Hablu'l-Matin* and *Násirí*, of which the last had a circulation of something over a thousand.

During the Constitutional Period the circulation of the newspapers went up, each of them enjoying a circulation of from two to three thousand copies. Thus the *Musáwát* had a circulation of 3000, the *Súr-i-Isráfil* from 5000 to 5500; the *Majlis* gradually rose from 7000 to 10,000, the *Anjuman* in Tabriz 5000. During the Second Period of the Constitution (July 1909—latter part of 1911), when the daily newspapers increased in size, their circulation diminished. Thus the *Istiqlál-i-Irán* ("Independence of Persia") had a circulation of from 800 to 1000 copies, and the *Irán-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), which enjoyed the largest circulation, from 2000 to 2500, very rarely reaching 3000. This diminution in the number of readers is chiefly to be ascribed to the general increase of poverty resulting from the disturbances, in consequence of which it often happened that several readers combined to buy and share one copy. One point worthy of mention is that in the latter days of the period of Autocracy the wealthy and well-known Hájji Zaynu'l-'Abidin Taqi'off of Báku, an eminent philanthropist, subscribed yearly for nearly 500 copies of the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matin*, paying the subscription himself, and arranging that they should be sent gratuitously to the Shi'ite doctors of theology and students residing at Karbalá, Najaf and others of the Holy Shrines, regularly and directly from the chief office. This great service rendered by him to the enlightenment of the 'ulamá and their political awakening greatly conduced to the circulation of newspapers in spiritual circles and societies.

The older Persian newspapers, and broadly speaking the greater part of the newspapers in general, were published in the *nasta'liq* writing, and the publication of newspapers in the *naskh* writing is to be reckoned a step forward in the perfecting of them. As is well known, the number of lithographed papers exceeded that of papers printed with moveable types, of which latter the *Akhbár* was the first<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> During the Constitutional period "jelly-graphed" publications of various forms and shapes were countless and beyond computation, but in this treatise we have only



Until the foundation of the *Irân-i-Naw* in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) the *format* of the Persian newspapers has generally, with the exception of the *Sayyidul-Akhbâr*, printed in India, and the Persian Supplement of the *Irshad* of Bâkû, been small; generally of the size of the smaller sheets of Russian paper used in Persia, more rarely somewhat larger. The *Irân-i-Naw* was the first of the large-sized Persian newspapers, resembling in every way in its arrangement the newspapers of Europe. After it the *Sharq*, *Bâq*, *Istiqdâl-i-Irân*, *Waqt*, *Majlis*, *Surûsh*, and finally the *Aftâb* came out in the same *format*.

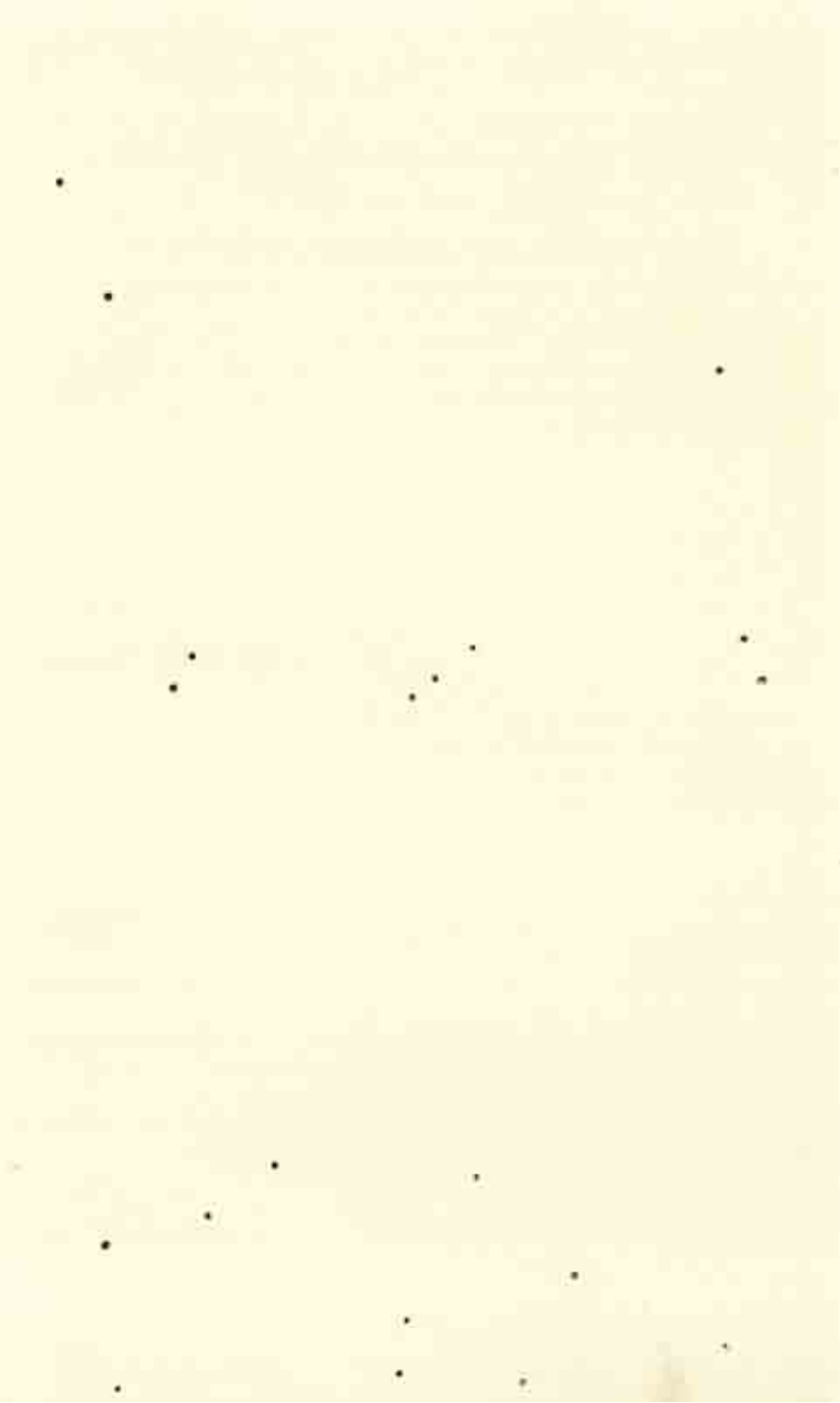
Amongst recent years that wherein the circulation of newspapers reached its maximum was A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), during which 84 newspapers were founded. Next comes the year A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), when 36 newspapers were in circulation; then the year A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) with 33 newspapers, and the years A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) and 1327 (1909), each with 31 newspapers. The city in Persia where the greatest number of newspapers was published was Tih-rân (148 newspapers), and next to it Tabriz (51), Rasht (25), Isfahân (20), and Mashhad (10).

It is worth calling attention to one small point deserving of notice, and that is that the official political parties, such as the Democrats, Union and Progress, Moderates, etc., only came into being in the Second Period of the Constitution, and were generally recognized only after the opening of the Second *Majlis* (Nov. 15, 1909). It is, therefore, not correct to ascribe to any one of the above-mentioned parties any newspaper antecedent to that date. During the First Period of the Constitution the only organized party was that of the Social Democrats (*Ijtimâ'îyyân-i-'Amniyyân*), whose organ was the *Mujâhid*, published at Tabriz.

After these brief general observations follows the detailed List or Catalogue, arranged in alphabetical order, of all the papers of every sort and in every language, whether Persian or otherwise, published in Persia, and in addition the Persian papers published abroad, which have come under the writer's notice.

noticed such as resembled newspapers in arrangement, form and title. Some of the others also appeared repeatedly under the same title, but they were for the most part unsigned and circulated secretly.





# آذرکایجان

۱۳۲۵ ۱۹۰۷

قیمت بکت نسخه چهارده شاهی است  
شماره ۴



مرا برای قطع ابد و بسک نیست و در آتیه و ابدم شدت و مزونی کرد و با لذت دارم پس این خنده.....

The late *Aminu's-Sultân* meditating the sale of the province of *Azarkâyân*  
(From the illustrated comic weekly *Azarkâyân*, No. 4, March 16, 1907)

# LIST OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN PERSIA OR IN PERSIAN, ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

## (1)

### Ādamiyyat (*Humanity*).

آدمیت

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib of Yazd, who, from the beginning of the Constitution, was an object of suspicion to the Constitutionalists and was in league with the Reactionaries. After the Reaction of the 23rd of Jumāda i, A.H. 1326 (= June 23, 1908), he was one of the Members of that unrighteous tribunal of the Bāgh-i-Shāh which interrogated, tormented and slew the Liberals. After the restoration of the Constitution and the conquest of Tihrán (July, 1909) he was arrested and imprisoned for a year with other political offenders.

According to Rabino, No. 12, the third number of this paper was dated 28 Jumāda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 8, 1907), and the eleventh number Ramazān 13 (October 20) of the same year. I possess Nos. 3, 8 and 12. Bi-weekly; 4—8 pp.; 12" or 13" x 7" or 7½"; 15 grāms yearly in Tihrán, 18 in provinces, 12 francs abroad.

## (2)

### Āzarbāyjān.

آذربایجان

A weekly comic newspaper printed in Tabriz with coloured caricatures in the beginning of A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of 'Alī-qulī Khān, known as Safaroff, also editor of the *Ihtiyāj* ("Need") and the *Iqbal* ("Progress"). This newspaper was published in Persian and Āzarī Turkish. In politics it was thoroughly Liberal and Constitutional.

According to Rabino, No. 13, the first number was published on Muharram 2, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 15, 1907) but my copy of No. 1, which bears on the outer sheet the dates "1324-1906," is dated on p. 2 Muharram 6, 1325, so that Mr Rabino's "2" appears to be an error for "6." Weekly; 8 pp.; 14 *shāhs* each number, or four *tanqas* a year in Tabriz; 12" x 7½". I possess Nos. 1-22, with some omissions.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 15 and note *ad cal.*, *supra*.

## (3)

**Ārāwōd** (*Morning*, Armenian).

آرآود

A weekly newspaper printed in Tabriz in the Armenian language and serving as the organ of the Armenian Dāshnāk-sūtiyūn. It was founded in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), and continued until the Russian massacre in Tabriz in Mukarram, 1330 (= Jan. 1912). This paper, by reason of its Liberal opinions, had a considerable influence in the Caucasus, and its entry into Russia was consequently prohibited; and subsequently it gave rise to complaint on the part of the Russians, who continually exerted themselves to secure its suppression. It was well known both on account of the important telegraphic news which it obtained from Tīhrān and from abroad, and also in consequence of its polemics with the Persian newspaper *Shajaq* ("Dawn"), also printed at Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 232. According to him No. 119 of this paper, which I have never seen, bore the date October 18, 1911.

## (4)

**Āzād** (*Free*).

آزاد

A newspaper published in India at Delhi in A.D. 1885 (= A.H. 1302-3), known to us only through the *Sayyidul-Akhbār* (published at Haydarābād in the Deccan), in consequence of a literary duel which took place between these two papers.

## (5)

**Āzād** (*Free*).

آزاد

A weekly newspaper published at Calcutta (India) by lithography, early in A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899), under the editorship of Mīrzā Sayyid Hasan of Kāshān (brother of Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Mu'ayyidul-Islām, better known as the editor of the *Hablu'l-Matin* of Calcutta), subsequently editor of the daily *Hablu'l-Matin* of Tīhrān. The above-mentioned Mīrzā Sayyid Hasan, in consequence of his being the agent in Tīhrān for the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matin* during the second Ministry of the *Amīnu's-Sulṭān* (or *Atābak-i-Aṣṣam*), and the attacks made by it on this Minister after the Russian loans (of 1900 and 1902) and his suppression of the newspapers *Parwarish*, *Hikmat* and *Hablu'l-Matin*, was



exposed to the vengeance of this powerful minister, and, after remaining for some time in prison and chains, was banished, and went by way of Egypt to his brother at Calcutta. During his stay there he started the newspapers *Miftāhu'ṣṣ-Zafar* ("Key of Victory") and *Āzād* ("Free").

See *Ishtāq*, No. 15. According to him it began publication on the 8th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1317 (= August 15, 1899). I possess No. 1. The yearly subscription was 10 rupees for India, Burma, and the Persian Gulf; 25 *grdas* for Persia and Afghanistan, 25 francs for China, Japan, Russia and Europe; and 5 mejidiyyes for Turkey, Turkish Arabia and Egypt. It is very well lithographed, the written page measuring 12" x 7", and each number containing 8 pp.

## (6)

*Āzād* (*Free*).

آزاد

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz and containing portraits of notable patriots of older and more recent times, founded towards the end of A.H. 1324 (= beginning of A.D. 1907) under the control of the *Kitāb-khāna-i-Tarbiyat* ("Tarbiyat" Library) and the immediate editorship of Mīrzā Rizā Khān "Tarbiyat," brother of the writer, and manager of the above-mentioned Library, and Mīrzā Mahmūd Khān Ashraf-zāda. The "Tarbiyat" Library, founded in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9) by the present writer and two or three friends, has a specially great importance in the history of the awakening of Āzarbāyjān, and played a considerable part in the last Revolution. The above-mentioned Library, which in the beginning was the first specimen of a book-shop on modern lines in Āzarbāyjān, but in a very small and humble way, continued day by day, by persistent efforts and endeavours, to increase its scope and prestige, importing useful books in every language from every part of the world, and circulating and making them known in Tabriz, so that it eventually became the best, most important and most comprehensive of all book-shops without exception throughout the whole of Persia, publishing every year a printed catalogue in the European fashion. In addition to this it became one of the centres of Liberal political action in Āzarbāyjān, until during the Reaction (23 Jumāda i, A.H. 1326 = June 23, 1908) it was looted and burned by the Reactionaries and the scoundrels who followed

Rahīm Khān of Qarā-dāgh. In politics this paper was thoroughly Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 14. I possess Nos. 2, 3 and 4. The first is dated 24 Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1324 (= Feb. 8, 1907). No. 2 contains a portrait of Muhammad 'Alī (at that time Shāh), and No. 3 one of Sayyid Jamālū'd-Dīn, the latter drawn by Sayyid 'Abdās al-Husaynī. Each number cost 3 *shāhīs* in Tabriz, where the yearly subscription was 7 *grāms*, and 15 in the provinces and abroad. The pages (four in number) measure 13" × 6½". The writing and lithography are good.

## (7)

Āzād (*Free*).

آزاد

A weekly newspaper published in Tīhrān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen.

## (8)

Āzādī (*Freedom*).

آزادی

A fortnightly newspaper published in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Hasan Nājlī of Khūy. Only one number was published, on Muharram 8 (= Jan. 30, 1909).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen.

## (9)

Āzādī (*Freedom*).

آزادی

A newspaper published at Tīhrān, mentioned without any particulars by Mr Rabino (No. 16), but otherwise unknown to the writer.

## (10)

Āzādī chī chīz-ast? (*What is Freedom?*).

آزادی چه چیز است

A newspaper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908).

See Rabino, No. 17. The second issue was dated the 15th of Rabi' 2, A.H. 1326 (= May 17, 1908).

## (11)

Azā-arar (*The Advertiser, Armenian*).

ազդարար

A weekly Armenian newspaper printed at Tabriz, mentioned without further particulars by Mr Rabino (No. 236), but otherwise unknown to the writer.

## (12)

**Astgh Arevelean** (*The Star of the East*). آستغ اریقلیان

A weekly Armenian newspaper printed at Tihrán in A.D. 1893 (= A.H. 1310-11).

See Rabino, No. 237, which gives no further details.

## (13)

**Áfāq** (*The Horizons*). آفاق

A newspaper published in Shíráz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), mentioned (No. 24) by Mr Rabino, but otherwise unknown to the writer.

## (14)

**Áftáb** (*The Sun*). آفتاب

A scientific and literary magazine printed at Isfahán under the editorship of Mírzá "Maḥmúd Khán S." of Tihrán. This magazine, of which the first issue appeared on the 20th of Rabí' i, A.H. 1329 (= March 21, 1911), was encouraged and inspired by Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir (son of Hājji Shaykh Muḥammad Taqí of Isfahán, better known as Áqā-yi-Najafí), one of the most enlightened theologians of the time. It is democratic in politics, and is still issued.

See Rabino, No. 25. I possess the first two numbers. No. 1 is bound in a red paper cover and contains 56 pp. of 6½" x 3½". Price of each number 1 *qirdā* in Isfahán and 1½ *qirdā* elsewhere. Yearly subscription 10 *qirdā* in Isfahán, 12 elsewhere in Persia, and 14 abroad.

## (15)

**Áftáb** (*The Sun*). آفتاب

A large-sized paper printed every other day at Tihrán in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn, son of 'Abdu'l-Wahháb. This paper was established at the cost and with the support of the Government after the *Coup d'État* of Muḥarram 1, A.H. 1330 (= Dec. 22, 1911), and the suppression of all the free papers of Tihrán, and became the semi-official organ of the Government. It defends the conduct and actions of the Government, criticizes its opponents, and endeavours to win the approval of the Russian and English

Legations. Its more important leading articles are ascribed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, *Wuthuq'ud-Dawla*. Its editor was formerly one of the correspondents of the *Irān-i-Nāz*. In politics it is Moderate.

Not included in Rabino's list, which was published before it came into existence.

## (16)

*Āgāhi (Information).*

آگاهی

\* A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen.

## (17)

*Āmūzgār (The Teacher).*

آموزگار

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Shaykh 'Alī 'Irāqī.

See Rabino, No. 31. I possess No. 3, dated 19 Rabi' 1, A.H. 1326, and April 21, 1908. Subscription, 4 *qirdar* a year in Persia, 5 francs abroad. Page, 11½" × 6½".

## (18)

*Āmūzgār (The Teacher).*

آموزگار

A weekly newspaper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī of Shīrāz.

See Rabino, No. 36, according to whom it was founded on the 7th of Jumāda II, A.H. 1329 (= June 5, 1911), and was Democratic in politics. I possess Nos. 1-24. Each comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 7". Yearly subscription, 6 *qirdar* in Rasht, 8 elsewhere in Persia, and 12 abroad.

## (19)

*Ana dill (The Mother Tongue).*

آنا دیلی

A newspaper published in Tabrīz in the Āzarbāyjāni Turkī language as part of the paper '*Adālat*' ("Justice," *q.v.*) to which it formed a supplement and by the office of which it was published.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

## (20)

*Ā'īna-i-Ghayb-numā (Mirror shewing the Unseen).*

آئینه غیب نما

A fortnightly illustrated newspaper lithographed at Tih-rān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Sāyyid



'Abdu'r-Rahīm of Kāshān. It renewed publication in the second Constitutional Period in Rajab, A.H. 1329 (= July, 1911).

See Rabino, No. 42. I possess Nos. 7, 12, 20, 21 and 31-33, of the First Year; and No. 6 of the Second Year. The first is dated 22 Jumādā i, A.H. 1315, and July 4, 1907. The yearly subscription was 25 *grāns* in Tihān, 30 in the provinces, and 17 francs abroad, and each number comprised 4 pp. of 12" x 7½". The date of the last number in my possession is Rajab 26, A.H. 1319 = July 23, 1911. The illustrations, which are somewhat crude, include portraits of notable patriots and caricatures.

## (21)

Āy Mullā 'Amū!

آی ملا عمو

A newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in the Āzarbāyjāni Turkish language, in quarto size as I have heard, edited and written by Mīrzā Aḥmad, director of the *Baṣrat* College, and editor of the newspapers *Ukhuwwat* ("Fraternity"), *Ittihad* ("Union") and *Islāmiyya*. According to another account, it was edited by Mīrzā Ḥasan and the *Sā'idū's-Sultān*. It was published in the year A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) by the Reactionaries and members of the *Anjuman-i-Islāmiyya* of the Devechi (or Shuturbān) quarter of Tabriz in order to excite the people against the Constitution.

See Rabino, No. 43.

## (22)

Iblāgh (*Conveyance*).

ابلاغ

A weekly lithographed paper published at Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mashhadī Maḥmūd Iskān-dāni, writer of the paper *Naṣmiyya* in Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 1, according to whom the first and sixth issues (the only ones seen) bore no date. I possess No. 1, which comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½", written in a fine bold *nā'liḥ*. Seven *grāns* a year in Tabriz, ten elsewhere in Persia.

## (23)

Ittihad (*Union*).

اتحاد

A lithographed newspaper published at Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mīrzā Aḥmad the scribe of Tabriz, known as *Baṣrat* after the College of that name of which he was formerly director. Only a few numbers were published.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

## (24)

**Ittihad** (*Union*).

اتحاد

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of the Mu'tamadu'l-Islâm of Rasht.

See Rabino, No. 3. I possess Nos. 1-20, of which the first is dated 3 Rabi' ii, A.H. 1325 (= May 18, 1907). Contains as a rule 4 pp. of 11" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *qurans* in Tihrán, 20 in provinces, 5 roubles in Russia, 8 rupees in India.

## (25)

**Ittihad** (*Union*).

اتحاد

A fortnightly newspaper printed at Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the management of the *Anjuman-i-Ittihad* ("Society of Union"), which was one of the unofficial *anjumans* of the Constitutionalists. Such *anjumans* were numerous in most towns of Persia during the First Period of the Constitution. They were first formed in Tihrán, whence they spread to other parts of the country. Of these unofficial provincial *anjumans* the above-mentioned *Anjuman-i-Ittihad*, founded by the present writer on his return from Tihrán towards the end of the year A.H. 1325 (= winter of 1907-8), was the first. Its organ, the *Ittihad*, was inaugurated at the beginning of Šafar, A.H. 1326 (= March, 1908). After the Minor Disturbance of Tabriz (by which is meant the strife and struggle of the Reactionaries, collected in the Devechi quarter of the city, and the Constitutionalists of the other quarters, in Dhu'l-Hijja, 1325 = January, 1908) it strove to defend the latter and oppose the former, who on their side, aided by the *Anjuman-i-Islâmiyya* which they had founded, published in Āzarbâyjâni Turkish the paper *Ây Mullâ 'Amâ* (see No. 21 *supra*) in the Devechi quarter. In a supplement or *feuilleton* the *Ittihad* published a dramatic sketch written by Mîrzâ Malkom Khân under the title of "Ashraf Khân, Governor of 'Arabistân," which portrayed in four Acts, in a most amazing and attractive manner, the governors of the old autocratic régime. This paper continued to be published until the beginning of the Great Revolution in Tabriz. In politics it was Liberal or Radical, and Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 1. I possess Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7 and 8. It contains 4 pages of 11½" x 7½". The yearly subscription was 12 *qurans* in Tabriz, 16 in other parts of Persia, and 20 abroad.

(26)

**Ittihad** (*Union*).

اتحاد

A lithographed newspaper published in Yazd in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

See Rabino, No. 4. He states that only two or three numbers appeared.

(27)

**Ittihad-i-Sa'adat**.

اتحادیه سعادت

A weekly newspaper published in Tih-ran in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(28)

**Ittifaq** (*Concord*).

اتفاق

A weekly newspaper published at Urmia in Āzarbāyjan in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Hājji Mīrzā Ibrāhīm of Tih-ran.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(29)

**Ittifaq** (*Concord*).

اتفاق

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Ma'sūm-zāda Shukūrī and H. Jamshīd-zāda. It was an organ of the "Union and Progress" Party.

See Rabino, No. 5, according to whom the first number was dated 16 Jumāda II, A.H. 1329 = June 14, 1911. I also possess one number (No. 1) of a weekly *lithographed* newspaper of this name, also published at Rasht, dated the 21st of Rabī' I, A.H. 1327, and April 12, 1909, edited by Mīr 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and 'Alī Āqā Nāsim, founders of the Ittifaq College. It contains rather a fine poem addressed to Muḥammad 'Alī, who was at that time still Shah.

(30)

**Ittifaq-i-Kārgarān** (*Union of Workers*).

اتفاق کارگران

A newspaper published in Tih-ran by the United Association of Printers, who, in consequence of the strike to which they had recourse in order to further their aims and obtain from their employers and the owners of the printing-presses their nine demands, brought it out during their strike in A.H. 1328 (= A.D.

1910). This strike and this newspaper have both a special historical importance, inasmuch as they were the first manifestations in Persia of a collectivist or socialistic movement; for although other strikes had taken place before this, yet these had not the form and character of European strikes. This newspaper did not run to more than four or five numbers. In politics it was Socialistic (*Ijtima'ī*).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

## (31)

**Ihtiyāj (Need).**

احتیاج

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9) under the editorship of 'Alī-qulī Khān, known as Safaroff, some account of whom and his paper has been already given in the Introduction (p. 15 and note 1 *ad calc.*, *supra*).

See Rabino, No. 6, according to whom only 7 numbers (the first dated Maharram 16, A.H. 1316=June 6, 1898) were published. At the request of the Amīr Nīzām the name of the paper was then changed to *Zohdī* ("Good Fortune"), under which title the eighth number appeared.

## (32)

**Ihyā (Revivification).**

احیا

A weekly newspaper printed at Shīrāz in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Hājji Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn.

See Rabino, No. 7. I possess No. 4, dated Monday the 3rd of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1329 (=April 3, 1911). It contains 4 pp. of 13" x 7½". Yearly subscription in Shīrāz, 6 *qirāz*.

## (33)

**Akhbār-i-Imrūz (To-day's News).**

اخبار امروز

A newspaper printed in Tīhrān in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (=Sept.-Oct. 1911). The editor's name appeared only as 'Alī at the bottom of the sheet.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

## (34)

**Akhtar (Star).**

اختر

A weekly newspaper printed at Constantinople. It began to be published in A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875) under the editorship of Āqā Muḥammad Tāhir of Tabriz, who is still living.

See Rabino, No. 8. I possess a considerable collection of numbers belonging to



the fourteenth to the seventeenth years (May, 1888-Feb. 1891). The paper came to an end about 1895 or 1896. The yearly subscription was 5 mejidiyyés in Turkey, 25 grâns in Persia, 25 francs in Europe, etc. Each issue, as a rule, comprised 8 pp. of  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ".

## (35)

**Ukhuwwat** (*Fraternity*).

اخوت

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mirzá Ahmad, known as "Basîrat," who was also editor of the *Ittihâd* (see No. 23, *supra*).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

## (36)

**Ukhuwwat** (*Fraternity*).

اخوت

A weekly newspaper printed at Rasht (not Yazd, as stated in the original MS.) in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

See Rabino, No. 10, according to whom only 13 numbers were published, at irregular intervals, the first on the 8th of Sha'bân, A.H. 1328 (= August 15, 1910), the last on the 24th of Jumâda II, A.H. 1329 (= June 21, 1911), the editor being first "Mi'ayyid" and then "Mawlawi." I possess all thirteen numbers. Nos. 1 and 3 were entitled *Ukhuwwat-i-'All*. The paper was chiefly ethical and literary, and contained a good deal of poetry. It consisted of pp. 4-6 of  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, 10 grâns a year in Rasht, 12 elsewhere in Persia.

## (37)

**Ukhuwwat** (*Fraternity*).

اخوت

A weekly newspaper printed at Baghdad in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Muhammad Taqî of Yazd. In politics this paper was Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 9, according to whom the fifth issue was dated the 6th of Rabi' II, A.H. 1328 (= April 27, 1910). I possess No. 18, which is dated the 4th of Sha'bân, A.H. 1328 (= August 11, 1910), and comprises 8 pp. of  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". The yearly subscription was 30 piastres in Baghdad and 40 elsewhere in Turkey; 20 grâns in Persia; 5 roubles in Russia; 10 francs in Europe; and 6 rupees in India.

## (38)

**Adab** (*Culture*).

ادب

A weekly newspaper lithographed in the *ta'liq* writing in Tabriz in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9). The owner and editor of this paper was Mirzá Şadiq Khân *Adibul-Mamûlik*, one of the

"*Qā'im-maḡāmī*" Sayyids, a descendant of Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsim of Farāhān, the celebrated *Qā'im-maḡām*, who was Prime Minister to Muhammad Shāh Qājār. This paper was illustrated with portraits of the celebrated sages and great men of the world, and contained some scientific articles written or translated by Mirzā Najaf-qulī Khān-i-*Qā'im-maḡāmī*, the physician. After the publication of the seventeenth number it was suspended for some time, until the College known as *Luḡmāniyya* was founded and opened under the direction of the *Adibū'l-Mamlūk*, when it again appeared under the management and at the cost of the above-mentioned College. Only three or four numbers appeared, lithographed in *naskh* handwriting and illustrated with portraits of the *Qā'im-maḡām*, Mirzā Taqī Khān *Amīr-Niẓām*, etc., when the editor resigned the direction of the College. He published one more number (the last) at Tabriz, and a little while after the second suspension of the paper set out for Mashhad. Some poetical fragments and *qaṣīdas* of the *Adibū'l-Mamlūk* himself, who was one of the most eminent contemporary poets of Persia, were generally included in the paper. Of his many excellent poems only one—a threnody in fourteen stanzas—has been printed at Tabriz.

See Rahino's supplementary list, No. 137, where the date of first publication is given as the 15th of Shāhān, A.H. 1317 (= Dec. 28, 1898), and it is stated that only three numbers were published. I have no copy of the Tabriz *Adīb*.

## (39)

## Adab (Culture).

ادب

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Mashhad in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1). Its editor was the same *Adibū'l-Mamlūk* mentioned above, and it continued at Mashhad until A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3).

See Rahino, No. 11, according to whom this paper continued from the 4th of Ramazān, A.H. 1318 (= Dec. 26, 1900) until the 28th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1320 (= Jan. 28, 1903). The *Adibū'l-Mamlūk*'s proper name was Mirzā Sādiq Khān of Farāhān. I possess Nos. 1 and 9. Each comprises 8 pp. of 12" x 8½" well lithographed in large, clear *naskh*. Yearly subscription, 20 *grāms* in Mashhad, 25 elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in the Caucasus and Russia, 3 *mejdīyyes* in Turkey, 10 rupees in India, and 12 francs in Europe.

(40)

**Adab** (*Culture*).

آداب

A weekly newspaper lithographed and subsequently printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904-5), at first edited and written by the same *Adibul-Mamalik* who founded the two papers of the same name (*Adab*) published at Tabriz and Mashhad respectively, and afterwards by *Majdu'l-Islam* of Kirmán, editor of the *Nida-yi-Watan*, *Kashkul* and *Muhakamat* (*q.v.*). The *Adibul-Mamalik*, who edited it at first, after a while transferred it to *Majdu'l-Islam*, and himself went to Bákú, where he edited the Persian supplement of Ahmed Bey Aghayeff's Turkish paper *Irshad*. After the issue of eleven numbers of this he returned to Tihrán in the [first] Constitutional Period, when so many *anjumans* (committees) were formed by the Constitutionalists, and founded a paper entitled '*Irâq-i-'Ajam*, which was the organ of the *anjuman* of that name.

See Rabino, No. 11, according to whom the third issue was dated the 8th of Safar, A.H. 1322 (= April 24, 1904), and the 189th issue the 14th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1324 (= June 7, 1906). I possess Nos. 40, 147 and 188 (all lithographed). These comprise pp. 4-8 of 12½" x 8½" and generally contain a portrait on the first and a caricature on the last page. Yearly subscription, 24 *grats* in Tihrán; 20 *grats* to students in Tihrán and Mashhad; 30 *grats* in other parts of Persia; 8 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus; 4 mejdiyyes in Turkey and Egypt; 15 rupees in India and China; and 20 francs in Europe and America. I also possess three of the printed numbers, No. 161 (fourth year) dated the 18th of Rajab, A.H. 1323 = Sept. 13, 1905; No. 184 (fifth year) dated the 2nd of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1324 = May 26, 1906; and No. 189, dated sixteen days later. These were printed at the Khurshid ("Sun") printing-press at Tihrán, but bear no editor's name. The subscription price is somewhat higher than the homonymous lithograph.

(41)

**Irshad** (*Direction*).

ارشاد

A half-page Persian supplement to the daily Turkish newspaper *Irshad* printed at Bákú in the year A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6), written by the above-mentioned *Adibul-Mamalik* under the editorship of Ahmed Bey Aghayeff of Qarabagh.

(42)

**Urmiye Orthodoxyaitá.**

ܘܪܡܝܝܐ ܐܘܪܬܘܕܟܝܐܝܬܐ

A newspaper published at Urúmi (Urmiya) in the Chaldaean (Syriac) language for the promotion of the "Orthodox" faith.



## (43)

**Istiqlāl** (*Independence*).

## استقلال

A newspaper printed at Tabriz, and appearing every alternate day, in the year A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mīrzā Āqā of Tabriz, known as *Nāla-i-Millat* ("Cry of the Nation"), because he edited another paper of this name, and was called after it, according to a custom prevalent in Persia. This newspaper was the result of the assembling under the protection of the Ottoman Consulate at Tabriz of the Constitutionalists and defenders of Tabriz, headed by Sattār Khān and Bāqir Khān, in consequence of the continued aggressions of the then newly arrived Russian troops in Jumāda i of that year (= May 21–June 20, 1909), when a committee was formed amongst the refugees consisting of certain men of education who used to take counsel as to the conduct of its affairs. Amongst its members were Sayyid Muhammad Rīzā of Shirāz, editor of the *Musāwāt* ("Equality"), who was at that time in Tabriz, and Mīrzā Ahmad of Qazwin, both of whom were afterwards deputies for Tabriz in the [second] National Assembly. This newspaper continued to be published until A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910). In politics it was Liberal and Constitutional, not Democratic, as stated by Mr Rabino.

See Rabino, No. 18, according to whom the seventh issue was dated the 22nd of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= Aug. 9, 1909), and the forty-seventh number the 5th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1328 (= April 16, 1910). I possess Nos. 7, 39, 45–54. Each number comprised 4 pp. of 12" x 8½". The yearly subscription was 16 *grains* in Tabriz, 20 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

## (44)

**Istiqlāl-i-Īrān** (*Independence of Persia*).

## استقلال ایران

A large-sized daily newspaper printed in Tih-rān in the month of Jumāda i, A.H. 1328 (= May–June, 1910). It was the organ of the party of Union and Progress, and was at first edited by Dr Husayn Khān *Kaḥhāl* ("the Oculist"), then by Sayyid Muhammad Khān *Muhandis-i-Humāyūn*, and lastly by Dr Abu'l-Hasan Khān of Tabriz. It continued publication until the month of Sha'bān, A.H. 1329 (August, 1911).

See Rabino, No. 19. I possess Nos. 8, 12, 19, 39, 40, 72, 86, 88, 99, 183, 191, 208, 212–216, and 234. Each number comprised 4 pp. of 20" x 14½". The yearly subscription was 50 *grains* in Tih-rān, 55 in the provinces, and 75 abroad.



(45)

**Al-Islām**

الإسلام

A monthly religious paper lithographed at Isfahān in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3), and more generally known as *Guftagūy-i-Şafā-Khāna-i-Isfahān* ("Talk of the House of Purity of Isfahān"). Its editor was Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī entitled *Dā'i'l-Islām* ("the Propagandist of Islām") of Isfahān, who also edited another paper called *Da'watu'l-Islām* ("the Preaching of Islām"), published at Bombay.

See Rahino, No. 20. I do not possess the paper.

(46)

**Islāmiyya**

اسلاميه

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7), edited by Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim *Ziyā'u'l-'Ulamā* of Tabriz, son of the *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā*. He belonged to one of the great families of learned men in Tabriz, was one of the first Constitutionnalists of that city, and was amongst those who assembled in the British Consulate on the 29th of Rajab, A.H. 1324 (= Sept. 19, 1906) to demand the proclamation of the Constitution and the signature of the Crown Prince (or *Wall'ahd*, i.e. Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā). He had studied with success the old and new learning, knew French and Russian, and was one of the truest patriots and Constitutionnalists, and an intimate friend of the writer. The idea of founding this newspaper first arose during the days when we were together in the British Consulate and were discussing the publication of a newspaper. The late *Ziyā'u'l-'Ulamā* during the whole six years of the Constitutional Period devoted himself entirely to the service of the Nation, was for a long time a member of the Council of Education (*Anjuman-i-Ma'drif*) of Tabriz, was Head of the department of Justice during the Revolution, and later Chief of the Court of Appeal. He also participated in person with great valour in the National struggles and wars with the Reactionaries. Unhappily during the last cruel catastrophe and slaughter of the Liberals in which the Russian aggressions in Tabriz culminated (in Muharram, A.H. 1330 = January, 1912) the Russians hanged him with seven

others on the day of the 'Ashura (Muharram 10, 1330 = Jan. 1, 1912) without any fault on his part.

Not mentioned by Rahino, and not seen.

## (47)

Islâmiyya.

اسلاميه

A weekly newspaper lithographed in small *format* in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7) under the editorship of Mirzâ Ahmad "Basirat," editor of the newspapers *Ukhuwwat* ("Fraternity") and *Ittihad* ("Union").

Not mentioned by Rahino, and not seen.

## (48)

Ishrâq (*Dawn*).

اشراق

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tih-rân in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

Not mentioned by Rahino, and not seen.

## (49)

Isfahân.

اصفهان

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahân in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

See Rahino, No. 21.

## (50)

Islâh (*Reform*).

اصلاح

A newspaper mimeographed in Paris in the *nasta'liq* handwriting in the early part of A.H. 1326 (= early spring of A.D. 1908), edited by Dr Jalil Khân. Its contents consisted for the most part of translations of articles concerning Persia which had appeared in the European Press.

According to Rahino, No. 22, it appeared fortnightly. I possess Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 7. It was edited from No. 82, Boulevard St. Marcel, Paris, and comprised 4-8 pp. of 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

(51)

**Islāh** (*Reform*).

اصلاح

A weekly newspaper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting in Bombay in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

Not mentioned by Rabino. I possess Nos. 31 of the second and 1, 6 and 8 of the third year of issue, the first dated the 3rd of Muharram, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 4, 1911). Each issue contains as a rule 8 pp. of  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ . The editor was Muhammad Riza of Bushire. Yearly subscription, 10 *gulas* in Persia, 2 rupees in India, and 6½ rupees elsewhere.

(52)

**Islāh** (*Reform*).

اصلاح

A weekly newspaper printed in Khuy in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of 'Alī Husayn-Zāda. The first number was dated the 29th of Sha'bān of that year (= August 25, 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(53)

**Ittilā'** (*Information*).

اطلاع

A fortnightly paper first printed and afterwards lithographed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1295 (= A.D. 1878). This was the semi-official organ of the Persian Government, twin-brother to the official *Irān* ("Persia"), and issued under the control of the Ministry of the Press and the supervision of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān *Ptimādu's-Saltāna*, son of Hājji 'Alī Khān *Hājibū'd-Dawla* of the Muqaddam family of Marāgha, and afterwards of his nephew Muḥammad Bāqir Khān *Ptimādu's-Saltāna*. It continued publication until A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8). This paper, on account of its connection with the Government, was devoid of useful political articles or such as might awaken thought, and was therefore always the object of severe criticism on the part of Persian Liberals and men of letters. Its only importance lay in the fact that it sometimes contained the textual agreements connected with certain State concessions and the like. This paper and its companion-paper the *Irān* were for some time the only papers published within Persian territory, yet notwithstanding this they enjoyed no popularity, but were only forced

upon Government employés, land-owners and officers of the State, from whose salaries the subscription was deducted.

See *Rahma*, No. 23. I possess Nos. 15-19 of the 19th year (Nov. 29, 1906-April 11, 1907). Each issue comprises 4 pp. of  $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ . The yearly subscription was 18 *grats* in Tihrán, 30 *grats* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 40 piastres in Turkey, and 7 rupees in India and China.

(54)

**Ittilâ'ât-i-Muhimma** (*Important Information*).

اطلاعات مهمه

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Hasan al-Husaynî and Rizâ son of Ahmad of Nûr (in Mázandarân).

Not mentioned by *Rahma*.

(55)

**Ittilâ'ât-i-Rúzâna** (*Daily Information*).

اطلاعات روزانه

See pp. 63-64 *infra*, under No. 106, *Tamaddun* ("Civilization").

(56)

**Aflâtûn** (*Plato*).

افلاطون

A paper printed in Rasht with coloured illustrations, of which one number only was published on the 26th of Rajab, A.H. 1328 (= August 3, 1910).

See *Rahma*, No. 26. I possess a copy. It comprises 8 pp. of  $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ , 4 of which contain coloured cartoons. Yearly subscription, 25 *grats* in Rasht, 27 elsewhere in Persia, and 6 roubles abroad.

(57)

**Iqbâl** (*Progress*).

اقبال

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9) under the editorship of 'Alî-qulî Khân, known as Safaroff, who was also editor of the newspapers *Ittiyâf* and *Âzarbâyyân* (q.v.).

See *Rahma*, No. 27, who says that the first issue of the paper under this new name was the eighth of the older *Ittiyâf* which it replaced, and that it was dated the 29th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1316 (= August 17, 1898).

(58)

**Uqyânûs** (*The Ocean*).

اقیانوس

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Sayyid Farajullâh of Kâshân, the former



editor of the *Thurayyā* in Egypt and Tīhrān. The real founder, owner and writer of the paper was Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm of Qarājadāgh, known as *Hakim-i-Ilāhī* ("the Philosopher"). This is the only Persian newspaper which openly defended the autocratic methods of the ex-Shāh and his creatures and championed the cause of the Reaction, and which accordingly continued after the Reactionary *Coup d'État* of the 23rd of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1326 (= June 23, 1908). After the capture of Tīhrān by the Constitutionalists (July, 1909), its editor Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm was arrested and imprisoned for a year amongst other political offenders.

See Rabino, No. 28.

(59)

**Ekbātān** (*Ecbatana*).

اکیاتان

A paper published in Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), of which the writer has never seen a copy. It succeeded the *'Adl-i-Muzaffar* (q.v.), was under the same management, and continued publication until recently.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(60)

**Echo de Perse.**

A paper published in Tīhrān in A.D. 1885 (= A.H. 1302-3).

See Rabino, No. 228, and p. 17 *supra*.

(61)

**Ulfat** (*Friendship*).

الف

A weekly paper printed in Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Mīrzā Sayyid Muḥammad Hamadānī.

See Rabino, No. 29. I possess No. 6, dated the 26th of Rabī' i, A.H. 1325 (= May 9, 1907). It contains 4 pp. of 11½" x 7". The yearly subscription was 10 *qurāt* in Hamadān and 15 elsewhere in Persia.

(62)

**Ummīd** (*Hope*).

امید

An illustrated weekly newspaper lithographed at Tabrīz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7). This was one of the first papers to appear after the granting of the Constitution, and was founded by five

or six students of the Luqmáníyya College. It continued publication for about 8 months.

See *Rahino*, No. 31. I possess Nos. 7 and 14, the former dated the 28th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1314 (= December 12, 1906). It contains 4 pp. of  $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$ .

## (63)

**Ummid-i-Taraqql** (*Hope of Progress*).

امید ترقی

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911), giving particulars as to the receipts and expenses of certain theatrical performances.

See *Rahino*, No. 33. No. 1, which I possess, is dated 29 Jumáda I, A.H. 1319 (= May 18, 1911) and comprises 6 pp. of  $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Price of each number, 1 *shahi*.

## (64)

**Anjuman** (*the Assembly or Club*).

انجمن

A paper first lithographed and later printed in Tabriz from two to four times a week, in the early part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1907). See under *Rāzudma-i-Millī*.

See *Rahino*, No. 34. I possess a good many numbers, both of the lithographed and printed issues. The former begin with No. 44 of the First Year, dated the 4th of Muharram, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 7, 1907), and end with No. 3 of the Third Year, dated the 15th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1326 (= Sept. 2, 1908), and each contains 4 pp. of  $12'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ , written in a large, clear *nasta'liq*. The yearly subscription was 10 *grains* (for 100 issues) in Tabriz; 15 *grains* elsewhere in Persia; 4 roubles in Russia; 12 *grains* in Europe and Turkey. Of the printed issues the first is No. 1 of the Second Year, dated the 4th of Šafar, A.H. 1326 (= March 8, 1908), and the last No. 31 of the same year, dated the 12th of Jumáda I, A.H. 1326 (= June 12, 1908). The pages (4) measure  $12'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ , and the yearly subscription differed little from that of the lithographed issues. There seems to have been some confusion and overlapping in the printed and lithographed issues.

## (65)

**Anjuman-i-Aṣnáf** (*the Trades' Guild*).

انجمن اصناف

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Sayyid Muṣṭafá of Tihrán, under the management of the Trades' Guild.

See *Rahino*, No. 35, according to whom the third issue was dated the 8th of Ramazán, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 12, 1907). The issue next or next but one to this appeared under the title *Bamād* ("Morning"), *q.v.* I possess a copy of No. 3, which comprises 4 pp. of  $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 10 *grains* in Tihrán, 5 francs abroad.

(66)

**Anjuman-i-Isfahān.**

انجمن اصفهان

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Sayyid Sirājū'd-Dīn. This paper was the official organ of the Provincial Council, or *Anjuman*, of Isfahān, whose deliberations it used to publish.

See Rabino, No. 36. I possess a good many numbers, ranging in dates from the 13th of Rabī' II, A.H. 1325 (= May 26, 1907), which is No. 21 of the First Year, to No. 38 of the Fourth Year, which is dated the 7th of Rabī' II, A.H. 1329 (= April 7, 1911). Each number contains 8 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$ . The earlier ones are in *nasta'liq*, the later ones in *nasta'liq*, with some lines in *nasta'liq* at the foot. Yearly subscription, 18 *qirān* in Isfahān, 20 elsewhere in Persia, 22 abroad.

(67)

**Anjuman-i-Ukhuwwat** (*Society of Brotherhood*).

انجمن اخوت

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Shirāz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(68)

**Anjuman-i-Baladiyya** (*The Municipal Council*).

انجمن بلدیه

A paper published in Isfahān on the 5th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 11, 1907), which continued publication for five months.

See Rabino, No. 238, on whose authority it is inserted.

(69)

**Anjuman-i-Millī-i-Wilāyati-i-Gilān**

انجمن ملی ولایتی گیلان

(*The National Provincial Council of Gilān*).

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of *Dabīrū'l-Mamlūk*. Four numbers of this paper were to be published weekly, but apparently only four numbers were published altogether.

See Rabino, No. 37. I possess four numbers (1-4), the first dated the 22nd of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= August 31, 1907), and the last the 22nd of Sha'bān (September 30) of the same year. Each consists of 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ . Yearly subscription (200 issues), 30 *qirān* in Rasht and Gilān, 45 *qirān* in other parts of Persia, 9 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus.

(70)

**Anjuman-i-Wilāyatī-i-Yazd**

انجمن ولایتی یزد

*(The Provincial Council of Yazd).*

A weekly paper published in Yazd in the early part of A.H. 1328 (= Jan.-Feb., 1910) under the editorship of Mīrzā Muḥammad Šādiq of Qum.

See Rahino, No. 38, according to whom No. 1 was dated the 5th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1328 (= Jan. 17, 1910). I possess Nos. 2 and 4. The former consists of 8 pp. of small size, 8" x 5"; the latter of 4 pp. of 12" x 6". Yearly subscription, 12 *qurān* in Yazd, 14 elsewhere in Persia.

(71)

**Indépendance Perse.**

A French weekly newspaper printed in Tīhrān in A.D. 1910 (= A.H. 1328) under the editorship of Dr Husayn Khān *Kaḥhāl* ("the Oculist") in connection with the *Istiglāl-i-Irān* (No. 44, *supra*).

See Rahino, No. 230, according to whom only three numbers were issued, the first on June 4 and the third on June 17, 1910.

(72)

**Insāniyyat (Humanity).**

انسانیت

A paper published in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8). It appears to have been the organ of the *Anjuman* of the same name, which consisted chiefly of natives of Āshtiyyān and Tafrish, and was under the presidency of the *Mustawfī-l-Mamdlk*.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(73)

**Anṣār (Helpers).**

انصار

A paper of small *format* lithographed in *naskh* handwriting at Iṣfahān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8). The second number appeared under the title of *Ganjīna-i-Anṣār* ("Treasury of the Helpers").

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(74)

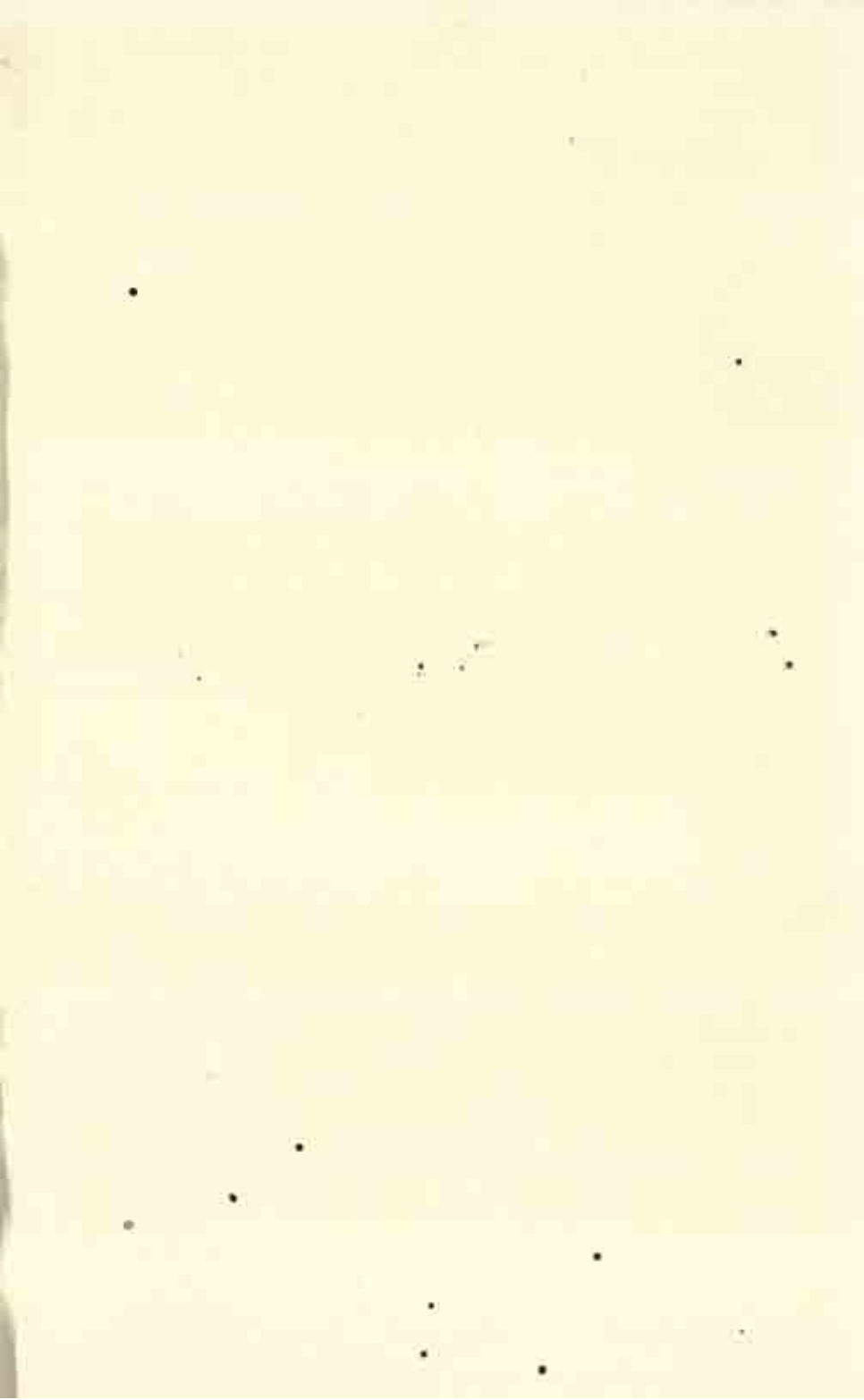
**Insāf (Equity).**

انصاف

A paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Hājji Sayyid Isma'īl, called *Sulṭānu'l-Maddāḥīn* ("the King of Eulogists") of Kirmānshāh.

See Rahino, No. 39, according to whom No. 1 was dated the 16th of Rabi' i, A.H.







1315 (= April 18, 1908). I possess Nos. 2-4. Each comprises 4 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 8 *grains* in Tihirān; 10 *grains* in the provinces; 30 piastres in Turkey; 2 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus; 3 francs in other foreign countries.

## (75)

Ūrdū-yi-Humāyūn (*The Royal Camp*).

اوردوی همایون

A paper published during the march to Khurāsān at the time of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh's second journey to Mashhad in A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882-3), written in the course of the journey at the different halting places on the road, and circulated amongst the members of the Royal Suite, commonly called "the Royal Camp." The first number was printed at Damāwand on Sha'bān 11 (A.H. 1300 = June 17, 1883), and the last at Tihirān when the Shāh reached the capital on his return on Dhu'l-Hijja 12 of that year (= Oct. 14, 1883). In all twelve numbers were published. The editor was Muḥammad Hasan Khān *I'timādu's-Saltāna*, aided by his secretary Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn *Zakā'u'l-Mulk*, editor of the newspaper *Tarbiyat*, and the writer was the calligraphist Mīrzā Muḥammad Rīzā of Kalhur.

Omitted by Kalhān, but mentioned in the *Kutub-i-Ma'āthir Wa'l-Āthār* ("Book of Institutions and Monuments") amongst the newspapers published during the reign of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh. The details concerning it given above were obtained by the author from H.E. *Zakā'u'l-Mulk*.

## (76)

Īrān (*Persia*).

ایران

A newspaper lithographed, and subsequently printed, in Tihirān, at first every alternate day and afterwards once a fortnight, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2). It was at first edited by Muḥammad Hasan Khān *I'timādu's-Saltāna*, Minister of Publications, and afterwards by Muḥammad Bāqir Khān *I'timādu's-Saltāna*, also Minister of Publications, until the beginning of the Constitutional Epoch. Some brief account of its history has been given at the beginning of this treatise. Its first number was dated Sunday, Muḥarram 11 of the above-mentioned year (A.H. 1288 = April 3, 1871), and the paper at first appeared regularly thrice a week. At the beginning of the first number was an announcement, signed by Muḥammad Hasan, referring to the suspension of the *Rāznāmas* entitled respectively *Dawlati*,

*Millat* and *'Imt*, and their replacement by this paper, which would publish three numbers a week instead of the single weekly number published by each of them. In the department of the British Museum Library assigned to Periodical Publications are preserved (under the class-mark 757. I. 11) Nos. 1-10, 90-92 and 94-125 of this paper, which I have examined.

This paper was an official Government organ, containing Court news, Imperial Rescripts (*farmans*), appointments and dismissals, the assignment of posts and titles, and especially such personal doings of the Sháh as levées, hunting-expeditions, religious mournings (in the month of Muharram), excursions, and the like, as well as other State functions. Its business was to praise the Royal performances and the doings of the Courtiers, and to enlarge on the security of the country and the progress of the Government; so that this paper, more than all others, was the object of criticism on the part of Persian Liberals and Persian newspapers published abroad. In its early days it contained a scientific part, which treated of the modern sciences, while at the foot of the page appeared in instalments a translation by Muhammad Hasan of Jules Verne's *Les Anglais au Pole Nord: Aventures du Capitaine Hatteras*.

The *I'timâdû's-Salṭana* writes: "The newspaper *Irân* ('Persia') was first published in the year A.H. 1288 (= 1871-2) when the superintendence of the Printing-press was entrusted to my uncle, the old *I'timâdû's-Salṭana*, and Mīrzâ Ḥusayn Khān *Sipahsālār* was Prime Minister."

*Zakā' u'l-Mulk* writes: "In the beginning of A.H. 1288 (March-April, 1871) the newspapers generally were placed under the charge of Muhammad Ḥasan Khān, Page in waiting (*ptshkhhidmat*), who subsequently received the title of *San'û'd-Dawla*, and finally that of *I'timâdû's-Salṭana*. He converted the three *Rûznāmas* entitled *Dawlati*, *'Imt* and *Millat* (which had hitherto been published under the management of the Ministry of Sciences and the *Dārû'l-Funûn* College, and the supervision of the *I'tizâdû's-Salṭana*) into one newspaper entitled *Irân*, which originally appeared three times a week, but gradually ceased to appear so regularly. This paper was first written by a certain Mīrzâ 'Alī Khān of Nā'in; afterwards, until about the



year A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882-3), by my late father; and after that by Mirzá 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, who lately received the title *Mujirū'd-Dawla*."

See *Rahino*, No. 40. I possess one number (No. 934) of the lithographed issue, dated the 15th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1315 and the 7th of May, 1898. It is written in a fine bold *nasta'liq* and consists of 4 pp. of 16" x 10". Yearly subscription in Tih-rān, 36 *grān*, abroad 38½ *grān*. Of the printed issue I possess Nos. 10, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 of the 59th year of publication, ranging from July 26, 1906, to Feb. 7, 1907. These numbers consist of 4 pp. of 13½" x 8½". The subscription price remained nearly the same, with equivalents added for Europe, Turkey and Russia. No. 22, dated Jan. 10, 1906, appeared in mourning, and contains the announcement of Murāṣṣar'ū'd-Dīn Shāh's death, and the *Niqāḥ-nāma*, or Constitution, of the newly-established National Assembly in 51 articles, dated the 14th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1324 (= December 30, 1906).

[*Īrān-i-Sultānī* (*Royal Persia*).

ایران سلطانی

See below under *Rūznāma-i-Īrān-i-Sultānī*, which is the correct title of the paper in question.]

<sup>1</sup> The founder and editor of this paper was the late Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān *ʿIsmāʿīl-i-Saltāna*, son of Hājji 'Alī Khān *Ḥājjiū'd-Dawla*, of the Muqaddam family of Marāgha, and founder of the newspaper *ʿIṣṭilāḥ* (*q.v.*), which on his death was made over to his nephew Muḥammad Bāqir Khān, the present *ʿIsmāʿīl-i-Saltāna*, who for a long while held the post of Minister of Publications. Its chief writer was Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Isfahān, poetically surnamed *Farrāghī*, and entitled *Zakā'u'l-Mulk*, father of the present *Zakā'u'l-Mulk*.

Since certain doubtful and difficult points arose in connection with the earlier official and scientific newspapers published by the Persian Government, after the completion of the original draft of this treatise, and while it was still in the hands of the translator, I wrote a letter to H.E. the *ʿIsmāʿīl-i-Saltāna*, another to H.E. *Zakā'u'l-Mulk* (Mirzá Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, President of the Second National Assembly), and a third to Mirzá Rīzā-qulī Khān, Principal of the *Dārū'l-Funūn*, these three persons being the present successors of those who were concerned with the earliest newspapers published in Persia, and the leaders in all scientific and educational matters, and addressed to them certain enquiries. The *ʿIsmāʿīl-i-Saltāna* was kind enough to send me, besides solutions of some of my difficulties, three or four copies of some of the rarer newspapers, both old and new. From *Zakā'u'l-Mulk* also, on the eve of publication, I received a still fuller reply, written after much careful investigation. To both these eminent men I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I regret that hitherto no answer has been received from Mirzá Rīzā-qulī Khān, who might perhaps have given fuller information on certain points specially connected with his administration. From the communications above mentioned such quotations and corrections as the progress of this work allowed have been made, these emendations being in all cases duly acknowledged. In some cases also, even when no important addition was made by them to the information already collected and recorded, I have quoted *verbatim* from their observations, merely in order still further to support and confirm matters recorded on other authority, such as those included in this article.

(77)

**Īrān-i-Naw** (*New Persia*).

ایران نو

A daily full-sized paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), of which the first number was published on Sha'bān 7th of that year (= Aug. 24, 1909). The proprietor and (nominal) editor was Sayyid Muḥammad Shabistārī of Āzarbāy-jān, known as Abu'z-Ziyā, formerly editor of *al-Ḥadīd* and the *Mujāhid*. The real and actual editor, as well as the principal writer, was, however, Muḥammad Amin Rasūl-zāda of Bākū, while the editor, who also financed the paper, was Basil the Armenian of Tīhrān. This paper was the greatest, most important and best known of all the Persian newspapers, and the first to appear in the large size usual in Europe. It began to appear regularly during the Second Constitutional Period, after the conquest of Tīhrān (July, 1909), introduced into Persia the journalistic methods of Europe, and became a model for other papers. Some of its leading articles were from the pen of Amīr Hājibī or Ghulām Rizā, a Georgian who pretended to be a Muslim, who used to write in French, from which language they were translated into Persian. Some of the lighter facetious articles, signed *Nīsh* ("Sting") were from the pen of Rasūl-zāda. The *Īrān-i-Naw* had the most extraordinary adventures in defending its Liberal policy, and during the period of its publication was frequently the object of vehement attacks on the part of the journals which opposed it, so that most of its time was spent in polemics, and it became both the agent and victim of important political events. Amongst these was the publication of one of the allegorical stories of the well-known Russian writer I. A. Kriloff about the Concert of the Animals, and how they interchanged places when they noticed its disorderly character; for it used occasionally to insert in one of its issues one of Kriloff's allegories which had some bearing on current events in the country. So it published this allegory of the Concert at the time when the Sipahdār's Cabinet was continually tendering its resignation, or when an interchange of portfolios took place amongst the Ministers composing it. This caused a great commotion amongst the supporters of the Government, which resulted

first in the temporary suppression of the paper, and afterwards in the resignation of the Ministers. Since the *Irân-i-Naw* was in opposition, that is to say was the partisan and organ of the minority (*i.e.* the Democrats), it was always liable to repression or suppression, and was the constant object of the anger, vengeance and recriminations of the supporters of the Government. It continued publication, supported by the above-mentioned Basîl the Armenian, until the month of Jumâda ii, A.H. 1328 (= June-July, 1910), when it finally suspended publication in consequence of financial embarrassments. Some months later, however, it resumed publication on the 21st of Shawwâl of the same year (= Oct. 26, 1910) as the official organ of the Democratic Party, by whom it was managed and financed, under the editorship of Sayyid Mahdî, the son of Sayyid Jamâl of Afcha. This time it was even more exposed than before to the attacks of its opponents, the Government, and their organs in the press, and finally Rasûl-zâda, its chief writer, was exiled from Tihrán at the instance of the Russian Legation in the latter part of Jumâda i [A.H. 1329] (= end of May, 1911). After his departure the paper still continued to be published by the Party until it was suppressed by the Government on the 22nd of Sha'bân, A.H. 1329 (= Aug. 18, 1911). It reappeared on the 18th of Dhu'l-Hijjâ (= Dec. 21, 1911), but was again suppressed ten days later, the last issue being No. 121 of the Third Year. It then reappeared under the name of *Irân-i-Nawîn*, and was again suppressed after the publication of a single number. Once more it appeared under the name of *Rahbar-i-Irân-i-Naw* ("the Guide of New Persia"), but was again suppressed after the publication of two numbers. The *Irân-i-Naw's* special importance lay in its publication of the Russian aggressions, its fiery denunciation of them, and its exposure of foreign intrigues, for which reason it was the object of special enmity on the part of the Russians.

See Rahbino, No. 41. I possess a fairly extensive collection of numbers of this paper, viz. Nos. 1-230 (with a few lacunae) of the First Year, extending from August 24, 1909, to June 14, 1910; Nos. 41-121 of the Second Year, extending from December 8, 1910, to March 21, 1911; and Nos. 1-110 of the Third Year, extending from March 26 to August 16, 1911. Each issue comprised 4 pp. of 29½" x 14½". The yearly subscription was 50 grins in Tihrán, 35 grins in the provinces, and 75 grins abroad.



## (78)

**Írán-i-Nawín** (*Newest Persia*).

ایران نوین

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The first and only number was dated the 29th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year (= Dec. 21, 1911). It took the place of the *Írán-i-Naw* (see immediately above). Editor, Sayyid Mahdí of Afcha.

\* Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

## (79)

**Bámdád** (*Morning*).

بامداد

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), edited by Ghulám 'Alí Khán Qājār on behalf of the United Guilds' Society (*Anjuman-i-Ittihádiyya-i-Aṣnáf*). Most of the leading articles were written by Hájji Mírzá Yahyá of Dawlatábád.

\* See Rabino, No. 44. No. 20 of this paper is dated the 13th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 14, 1908). It comprises 4 pp. of 14½" x 8". Yearly subscription, 10 *yrims* in Tihrán, 5 francs abroad. See p. 46 *supra*, No. 65.

## (80)

**Bukhárá-yi-Sharíf** (*Bukhárá the Holy*).

بخارای شریف

A large-sized daily paper printed in New Bukhárá (Turkistán) in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912), the first number being dated the 4th of Rabi' ii of that year (= March 23, 1912). The proprietor of this paper is K. L. Livine, the editor Mír Haydar son of Khwāja Qásim Muridloff, and the chief writer M. T. Jalál Yūsuf-záda, a Caucasian by origin.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (81)

**Barq** (*Lightning*).

برق

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= October, 1910). The proprietor and editor was Sayyid Ziyá'-u'd-Dín son of Sayyid 'Alí Yazdí, also editor of the *Nidá-yi-Islám* and the *Sharq*. On the suspension of the last-named paper, this



was published in its place. (See under *Sharq*.) In politics the paper was revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 42, according to whom about 30 numbers were published. I possess Nos. 3-6 and 8, the first dated Oct. 20, the last Nov. 23, 1910. Each number comprises 4 pp., the last being in French, of 20" x 14½". Yearly subscription, 45 *grains* in Tihlán, 50 in the provinces, 65 abroad.

## (82)

**Barg-i-Sabz** (*The Green Leaf*).

برگ سبز

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Ardabil (*Āzarbāyján*) in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Āqā Mīr Ahmād.

See Rabino, No. 46. I possess Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10 and 12, the first dated the 27th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 29, 1908). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 8½", lithographed in a fine, large *nashk*. Yearly subscription, 10 *grains* in Ardabil, 15 elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, 40 piastres in Turkey, 10 francs in Europe.

## (83)

**Bishārat** (*Good Tidings*).

بشارت

A paper printed in Mashhad (*Khurāsān*) in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7) under the editorship of 'Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī, which continued publication for more than two years.

See Rabino, No. 47, according to whom it was a weekly. No. 4 was dated the 20th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1324 (= Feb. 4, 1907), and publication appears to have ended in A.H. 1326 (1908). I possess Nos. 4, 13, 14, 18, 22. Each number contains 4 pp. of 13" x 6½". Yearly subscription, in Mashhad 12 *grains*, elsewhere in Persia 15 *grains*, Russia and Turkistān 4 roubles, India and China 24 *grains*, Afghanistan 20 *grains*, Turkey and Egypt 20 *grains*.

## (84)

**Basīrat** (*Insight*).

بصیرت

A weekly newspaper published in Tihlán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, nor do I possess a copy.

## (85)

**Baladn'l-Amin** (*The Secure Land*).

بلد الامین

A weekly paper lithographed in Mashhad early in A.H. 1328 (= Jan.-Feb. 1910) under the editorship of Mīrzā Muḥammad Sādiq.

See Rabino, No. 48. I possess Nos. 2, 6, 11, 13, 17. No. 2 is dated the 28th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1328 (= Feb. 9, 1910). According to Rabino the paper was

published for the *Baladiyya* or Municipal Council of Mashhad, and ceased publication on the 24th of Jumáda II, A.H. 1328 (= July 3, 1910). Each number consists of 4 pp. of  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ " and is lithographed in a large, clear *na'kâh*. Yearly subscription, 10 *grâns* in Mashhad, 12 *grâns* elsewhere in Persia, 15 *grâns* abroad.

## (86)

**Baladiyya (Municipality).**

بلدیہ

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

\* See Rabino, No. 49, according to whom it appeared irregularly, under various editors. I possess Nos. 7, 10, 16, 21, 43, 46, 47. No. 7 is dated the 3rd of Rabi' II, A.H. 1325 (= May 16, 1907), and comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, 18 *grâns* in Tihrán, 23 *grâns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 9 rupees in India, 3 mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt, and 21 francs in Europe.

## (87)

**Baladiyya (Municipality).**

بلدیہ

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Ahmad Mirzá, which published the deliberations of that Municipality, under whose management it was produced.

Not in Rabino, nor do I possess a copy.

## (88)

**Baladiyya-i-Isfahán (The Municipality of Isfahán).**

بلدیہ اصفهان

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in the latter part of A.H. 1325 (= January, 1908).

See Rabino, No. 50, who describes it as bi-weekly, and states that it was first published on the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1325 (= Jan. 8, 1908). This is in fact the date borne by No. 1, which I possess. It comprises 4 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ", and is lithographed in a large, clear *na'kâh*. Yearly subscription, 25 *grâns* in Isfahán, 30 *grâns* elsewhere in Persia, and 32 *grâns* abroad.

## (89)

**Bü Qalamún (The Chameleon, or Turkey).**

بو قلمون

A small-sized paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mirzá Mahmúd Ghani-záda of Salmás, who was also editor of the *Anjuman*, *Faryád* and *Shafag*.

See Rabino, No. 51, according to whom the second issue was dated the 24th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= August 11, 1909). I do not possess a copy.



شماره ۳۳

سوراول

سال اول

# بیهول

نایب رئیس قوه قضائیه  
نیک فرزند دینار  
دوررج و ملا محمد علی میرزا و ملا علی



England surreptitiously by guile and Russia openly by force combine to expel Mr W. Morgan Shuster from Persia and prevent his financial reforms

From No. 34 of the *Bihol*, Dec. 22, 1911



## (90)

**Buhlul.****بهلول**

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in the early part of A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship first of Shaykh 'Alī 'Irāqī, and afterwards of Asadu'llāh Khān called "Pārsī." This paper defended the methods of the Democratic Party and attacked and criticized the antagonistic parties and the Government, just as in like manner the paper *Tanbāh* (q.v.) supported the Moderates (*I'tidaliyyān*), and finally the paper *Shaykh Chughundur* (q.v.) was similarly connected with the Party of Union and Progress and defended them.

See Rabino, No. 52. I possess Nos. 6, 10, 13, 29 and 34. The first is dated the 11st of Jumāda I, A.H. 1329 (= May 20, 1911). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 13½" × 6½", the first and last pages being occupied by illustrations. Each number, 100 *diārs* (⅓ *grān*).

## (91)

**Bīdārī (Wakefulness).****بیداری**

A paper lithographed in Tihrán every other day in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of *Fathu'l-Mamālik*.

See Rabino, No. 53, according to whom it began on the 23rd of Jumāda II, A.H. 1325 (= August 3, 1907). I possess Nos. 1 and 3. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 7", and is lithographed in *ta'liq*. Yearly subscription, 30 *grāns*.

## (92)

**Pāy-i-Takht (The Capital).****پای تخت**

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

## (93)

**Parwāna (The Moth).****پروانه**

A paper printed in Isfahān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan Mū'min-zāda. Forty numbers a year were published, the first on the 7th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 12, 1910).

See Rabino, No. 55, who adds that in politics the paper was Democratic. I possess Nos. 8, 10, 18 and 21, the first dated the 10th of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (= Dec. 11, 1910). Each number comprises 8 pp. of 13" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *grāns* in Isfahān.

(94)

**Parwarish (Education).**

پرویش

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt) in the early part of A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1), the first number dated the 10th of Šafar of that year (= June 9, 1900). The owner, editor and writer was Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad Khān of Kāshān, the brother of [Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khān] *Wahidul-Mulk*, who was a Member of the Second *Majlis*. This was one of the best Persian newspapers, and as regards influence amongst the young Persians held the first place, both exciting the emotions and compelling the affections of the Persian public. In style and tone, moreover, it had a peculiar quality of beauty. It took the place of the *Thurayyā* ("Pleiades") after the dissolution of the partnership which previously existed between Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad Khān and Sayyid Farajullāh of Kāshān. The fiery utterances and sweet eloquence of this paper had an extraordinary effect on public opinion, and in truth effected an intellectual revolution. Some of its special articles, such as "the Daughter of Hājji Felt-maker" (*Dukhtar-i-Hājji Namad-māl*), "Fancy's Dream" (*Khawāb-i-Khuyāl*), "A Topic of Conversation" (*Maqāla-i-Muṣāhaba*), "Arguing in a circle" (*Dawr u Tasalsul*), and "the Court of Judgement, or, before the Judge of Conscience" (*Majlis-i-Muḥakama, yā Mahzar-i-Qāzi-yi-Wijdan*) may be taken as literary models in the Persian language. After the *Qadūn*, it was the freest in its language of all the Persian papers during the period of Autocracy; and by reason of the vehemence of its utterances, and its violent attacks on the methods of administration of the Government of Persia, particularly its criticisms on the unpatriotic actions and policy of the *Amīnu's-Sulṭān*, it became an object of hatred to the Court and of affection to the people. In consequence of an article comparing the merits of the *Amīnu'd-Dawla* and *Amīnu's-Sulṭān* which was published in No. 23 of the paper, it was prohibited from entering Persia, but it still continued publication until the 33rd number, and by secret channels continued to find entrance into Persia. In the last number appeared a famous article, entitled "Lament for the Broken Pen: 'for what crime was it slain?'" (*Zārt bar shikastagi-yi-qalam: 'bi-ayyi dhanb qutilat?*),

which had a special importance. After the suppression of the paper, Mirzá 'Alí Muḥammad Khán was for some time ill with consumption, of which he finally died in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3) at Halwán near Cairo. See also under *Thurayyá*.

See Rabino, No. 55. I possess Nos. 11-19 of this paper. Each number comprises 16 pp. of  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$ . Yearly subscription, 40 *grdus* in Persia, 10 roubles in the Caucasus, 4 meşlilyyes in Turkey, 25 francs in Europe, and 12 rupees in India and China. Of the articles specially mentioned above, *Dawr u Tawánu* occurs in No. 19 and deals with the exactions practised by the Persian Consuls on the Persian pilgrims to Mecca; and the *Mafli-i-Muḥakama* occurs in No. 18.

## (95)

**Pulis-i-Írán** (*The Police of Persia*).

پلیس ایران

A daily newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), edited by Sayyid Jawád of Tabríz and owned by Murtazá-qulí Khán *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mamalik* the Qājār. This was one of the papers connected with the party who were in the majority, and defended the policy of the Government, that is of the "Moderates" (*I'tidálíyyán*).

See Rabino, No. 56. I possess a good many numbers, the first being No. 1, dated the 4th of Dhul-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= November 18, 1909), and the last No. 480, dated the 30th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 21, 1911). The size of the paper was originally  $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11''$ , but it was afterwards enlarged to  $18'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 35 *grdus* in Tihrán, 40 *grdus* elsewhere in Persia, 10 roubles in Russia, 25 francs in Europe, and £11 in Turkey; but the price was subsequently raised.

## (96)

**Payámbar-i-Bákhtar** (*The Prophet of the West*).

پیامبر باختر

A small-sized magazine published in Washington (U.S.A.) once every 19 days by the Bahá'ís of America for the propagation of the Bahá'í religion. Its name was afterwards changed to the "Star of the West" (*Najm-i-Bákhtar*).

See Rabino, No. 57. I possess the "Star of the West," Vol. II, Nos. 1-4, 7-8, and 14-16, the first dated March 21, 1911, the last Dec. 31 of the same year. The magazine is bilingual, the greater part (about two-thirds) being printed in English, and the remainder lithographed in Persian. In connection with the same "Persian-American Educational Society" was published in October, 1911, the first number of another monthly magazine (entirely in English) entitled the "Illustrated Monthly Bulletin of the Persian-American Educational Society," of which I possess Nos. 1, 3, and 8, the last dated May-June, 1912.



(97)

**Paykār** (*Strife*).

پیکار

A paper published in Tih-rān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mīrzā Haydar 'Alī Kamālī. It was the organ of the then recently formed party of the *Ijtima'iyūn-i-Ittihadīyyān*.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

(98)

**Tāza Bahār** (*Early Spring*).

تازه بهار

A weekly paper printed in Mashhad in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of the Poet Laureate (*Malikū'sh-Shu'ard*), or "M. Bahār," which replaced the *Naw Bahār* (q.v.) on its suppression. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino. I possess No. 3, dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1329 (= December, 14, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. of 16" x 10½". Yearly subscription, 25 *qurān* in Mashhad, 30 *qurān* elsewhere in Persia, and 6 roubles abroad.

(99)

**Tabriz.**

تبریز

A weekly paper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the editorship of a certain Kamāl. No. 3, which I possess, is dated Thursday, Muharram 25, A.H. 1297 (= Jan. 8, 1880), corresponding with the Year of the Hare. Numbers belonging to the third year of publication have been seen. Mention has been made of it in the Introduction. (See p. 13, *supra*.)

Not in Rabino.

(100)

**Tabriz.**

تبریز

A paper printed three times a week in Tabriz towards the end of A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mīrzā Isma'il Yakānī, and subsequently of Mīrzā Husayn *Tabīb-zada*, known as "Kamāl," formerly editor of the paper *Kamāl* ("Perfection"). The publisher of this paper was Karbalā'ī Husayn, known as *Fishangchi* ("the Cartridge-seller"), a Member of the Tabriz Provincial Council. This paper was suppressed with all the other papers published in Tabriz at the time of the Russian aggression of Muharram, A.H. 1330 (= Christmas, 1911), and its







editor was arrested. The politics of the paper were Conservative and Moderate Constitutionalist.

See *Kahino*, No. 58. I possess Nos. 72 and 89, the former dated the 23rd of Jumada II, A.H. 1319 (= June 21, 1901), and the latter the 7th of Sha'ban (August 4) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, in Tahriz 21 *grains*, elsewhere in Persia 30 *grains*, abroad 42 *grains*.

## (101)

**Tadayyun** (*Religiousness*).

تدین

A weekly religious paper printed in Tihiran in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mullá Sâdiq, entitled *Fakhrul-Islâm* ("the Pride of Islâm"), originally a Chaldaean or Syrian Christian of Urmiya, who was converted to Islâm (*Jadidul-Islâm*).

See *Kahino*, No. 59. I possess No. 11 of the first year, dated the 1st of Sha'ban, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 9, 1907), and No. 2 of the third year, dated the 16th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= August 3, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of  $12'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$ . Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Tihiran, 15 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 7 rupees in India.

## (102)

**Tarbiyat** (*Education*).

تربیت

A weekly paper lithographed in very fine *nastaliq* in Tihiran in A.H. 1314 (= A.D. 1896-7). Its owner, editor and chief writer was Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Isfahân, entitled *Zakâ'ul-Mulk* and poetically surnamed *Furighi*, author of numerous works on history and literature, father of the present Mirzá Muḥammad 'Alî Khân *Zakâ'ul-Mulk*, who was a member of the Second National Assembly. This paper had a special literary importance in regard to its style, composition, and quality of eloquence, for the late *Zakâ'ul-Mulk*, who was in his time one of the first men of letters and poets of Persia, used frequently to publish his poems in it, for which reason amongst others it held a high and distinguished place amongst the papers of the period of Autocracy, and enjoyed a considerable influence, though its practice of flattering and praising contemporary notables detracted from its literary value. Its celebrity was chiefly due to its controversy with the paper *Thurayyâ* ("Pleiades," *q.v.*) about the Persian Calendar of Hâjji Najmu'd-Dawla. In consequence of the well-founded criticisms levelled by Mirzá 'Alî Muḥammad Khân of Kâshân

appearance in Tīhrān the *Tamaddun* stood aside from the strife of the other conflicting parties, and described itself as the partisan of the policy of fundamental reforms (Radical). During its first publication the *Tamaddun* published eighty numbers a year, but afterwards appeared once a week. During the latter part of A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) it became a daily, and was published in small quarto form under the title of *Iʿtilāfāt-i-rāʾidna-i-Tamaddun* ("Daily information of the *Tamaddun*"). This paper epitomized in a very pleasing form the weekly happenings and news of Persia and foreign countries, and in this respect it occupied a unique position amongst Persian newspapers.

See Rabino, No. 64. I possess a good many numbers of the First and Second Years of publication, of which the first is No. 1 of the First Year, dated the 17th of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1324 (= Feb. 1, 1907), and the last No. 14 of the Second Year, dated the 11th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1326 (= June 11, 1908). Each number comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, 24 *grims* in Tīhrān, 30 *grims* elsewhere in Persia, 7 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 14 rupees in India. A supplementary number dated the 1st of Ramazān, A.H. 1326 (= Sept. 27, 1908), bears over the title the words "*Nālo-i-Millat*" ("the Nation's Lament"), and above this the verse from the Qur'ān: "*Deem not them who were slain in the Way of God as dead, but rather as living, cared for by their Lord.*" Instead of the usual price stand the words: "a grain of activity," and readers in Persia are requested to pass the paper on to others. It contains a proclamation from the *Mujtabi* of Karbalā against Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh and in favour of the Constitution, and was printed at the *Habsh-i-Matin* Press at Calcutta.

## (107)

**Tamaddun (Civilization).**

تَمَدُّن

A paper published in Bombay in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) by the above-mentioned *Mudabbirū'l-Mamālik* during his stay in India. Only one number appeared.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (108)

**Tamaddun (Civilization).**

تَمَدُّن

A paper published in Rasht in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), edited and written by the above-mentioned *Mudabbirū'l-Mamālik*, during his return from India to Tīhrān. Only one number appeared, dated 29 Rabi' ii, A.H. 1327 (May 19, 1909).

See Rabino, No. 64, according to whom the single Rasht issue was No. 3 of the Second Year. We have seen above that No. 14 of the Second Year was published



on June 11, 1908, 12 days before the *Coup d'Etat*, while the next (Raah) issue, No. 12, must have been published about 13 months later, in July, 1909, just before the capture of Tihrán by the Nationalists.

## (109)

**Tanbīh** (*Admonition*).

تنبيه

A comic paper, partly lithographed and partly printed, published in Tihrán, and illustrated with coloured caricatures, in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), under the editorship of *Murtazidul-Afshār*. After the restoration of the Constitution (in July, 1909) this paper was again published, and continued until these last times (end of 1911). In politics it belonged to the Moderate Party.

See Rabino, No. 65, according to whom No. 7 was dated the 14th of Jumáda II, A.H. 1325 (= July 25, 1907). I possess No. 1 of the Third Year, which, however, is undated. It comprises 4 pp. of  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 1 and 4 each contain a caricature (not coloured) and are lithographed: pp. 2 and 3 are printed.

## (110)

**Tahdhīb** (*Purification*).

تهذيب

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (111)

**at-Tawaddud** (*Affection*).

التودد

A paper published in Paris in A.D. 1891 (= A.H. 1308-9) under the editorship of Shaykh Abū Naẓẓāra (*-Nadhdhāra*). This paper was published in four languages, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and French, and was illustrated. As it contained a Persian section it has been recorded amongst the Persian newspapers. Some of its Persian articles were written by Shaykh Muhammad Ḥasan of Sīrjān (near Kirmān), entitled *Shaykhul-Mulk*.

Not in Rabino, and not seen. Shaykh Abū Naẓẓāra (a vulgar form of the name given above), one of the Egyptian political exiles in Paris, was better known as the editor of the Arabic comic lithographed paper called by the same name ("the Father of Spectacles") which he had assumed. His real name was James Sanna.

(112)

**Tiyâtr** (*The Theatre*).

تئاتر

A bi-weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908), edited and written by Mīrzā Rizā Khān-i-Tabātabā'ī of Nā'in, afterwards a member of the Second National Assembly. Its contents consisted of scenes cast in dramatic form referring to the conditions of administration under the Autocracy, and the methods of government adopted by princes and governors under the ancient régime. It may be reckoned one of the best newspapers in Persian.

See Rabino, No. 66, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 4th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1326 (= April 6, 1908). He adds that he had seen No. 1 of the Third Year, which bore no date. I possess Nos. 1-4, which contain each 4 pp. of 11" x 7". Yearly subscription, 12 grins in Tihrán, 16 grins elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 8 francs in Europe.

(113)

**Thurayyá** (*The Pleiades*).

ثریا

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt) in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9). The first number was dated the 14th of Jumáda ii of that year (= Oct. 30, 1898), and it was at first edited by Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Khān of Kāshān and afterwards by Sayyid Farajullāh of Kāshān. So long as it was edited and written by the former it was much sought after and attained a great renown, so much so that during the Period of Autocracy no Persian newspaper was so much appreciated. It participated in most of those qualities which have been already mentioned in our eulogy of the *Parwarish*, than which it was even better known in consequence of the longer duration of its publication. One of its well-known articles was the "Topic of Conversation" (*Maqāla-i-Muḥdhaba*), and one of the most important episodes in its career was the prolonged controversy concerning Hājji Najmud-Dawla's Calendar (see pp. 61-2, *supra*) which took place between it and the *Tarbiyat* newspaper. Another was its defence of the *Tarbiyat* College established in Tabriz by the present writer and others, and its continued attacks on Hājji Sayyid Muḥammad of Yazd, the notorious intriguer who had been instrumental in bringing about the closure of that College. The

violent attacks on this man published in Nos. 36 and 37 of the First Year of this paper led to his banishment from Tabriz. In the middle of the Second Year of its publication, Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Khān handed over the paper to Sayyid Farajullāh, and himself founded the *Parwarish* (q.v.). Thereafter the *Thurayyā* entirely lost its former importance, and no longer retained its popularity. It continued to be published in Egypt under the editorship of Sayyid Farajullāh for some time, but was finally suspended, and the editor went to Tih-rān and there resumed its publication.

See Rabīno, No. 67. I possess an almost complete set of the paper comprising Nos. 1-51 of the First Year, the date of No. 1 being the 14th of Jamāda II, A.H. 1316 (=Oct. 30, 1898), and Nos. 1-36 of the Second Year, the date of the last number being the 20th of Jamāda I, A.H. 1318 (=Oct. 15, 1900). The first number of the *Parwarish* is dated the 10th of Ṣafar, A.H. 1318 (=June 8, 1900). Each number of the *Thurayyā* comprises from 16 to 18 pp. of 9" x 5½". Yearly subscription, 36 grāns in Persia, 4 mejdīyyēs in Turkey, 10 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 25 francs in Europe, and 12 rupees in India.

## (114)

**Thurayyā** (*The Pleiades*).

ثريا

A weekly newspaper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1321 (=A.D. 1903-4) under the editorship of the above-mentioned Sayyid Farajullāh of Kāshān.

See Rabīno, No. 67, according to whom No. 21 of the Sixth Year (dating from the foundation of the paper at Cairo) was dated the 22nd of Rajab, A.H. 1321 (=Oct. 14, 1903).

## (115)

**Thurayyā** (*The Pleiades*).

ثريا

A paper published at Kāshān in A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910) by the same Sayyid Farajullāh.

Not mentioned by Rabīno, and not seen.

## (116)

**Jārchī-yi-Millat** (*The People's Herald*).

جارجی ملت

A weekly paper lithographed in Tih-rān towards the end of A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910), under the editorship of Āqā Sayyid Husayn, and illustrated with comic caricatures.

See Rabīno, No. 68, according to whom No. 5 was dated the 5th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1329 (=Jan. 6, 1911). I possess Nos. 5-8. No. 6 is dated the 13rd of

Muharram, A.H. 1329, and has on the first page a portrait of M. Panoff, the celebrated Bulgarian revolutionary who was expelled from Tihrán by the Russians and afterwards took part in the fighting near Astaráhid. See my *History of the Persian Revolution*, pp. 214-228 and 418. Each number comprises 4 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, 8 *grdus* in Tihrán, 10 *grdus* elsewhere in Persia, and 6 francs abroad.

## (117)

Járchí-yi-Waṭan (*The Country's Herald*).

جارجی وطن

A weekly paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (118)

Jám-i-Jam (*The Goblet of Jamshid*).

جام جم

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Hájji Sayyid Rizá (the nephew of Hájji Sayyid Muhammad the banker), one of the registrars of the National Assembly, and illustrated with portraits of former kings of Persia.

See Rabino, No. 69, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 14th of Jumáda II, A.H. 1325 (= July 25, 1907). I possess Nos. 1-10, 12-18, 20-23, 26-27. Each number comprises as a rule 4 pp. of  $12 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ", and has on the first page a picture of one of the ancient Persian kings of the Kayáni or Sásáni dynasty, the first being Kayúmarth and the last Bahráh II. Yearly subscription, 12 *grdus* in Tihrán, 15 *grdus* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, one mejdiyyé and a half in Turkey, and 7 francs in Europe.

## (119)

Jám-i-Jamshid (*The Goblet of Jamshid*).

جام جمشید

A weekly newspaper published at Bombay every Monday in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

This paper, together with some other Persian newspapers, is mentioned in Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leipzig, 1846), under article No. 1831. According to this statement, the papers mentioned by name as published in India were earlier by at least five years than even the *Kandama-i-Waqiyát-i-Ittifaqiyya*, which was the earliest Persian newspaper, since they were in circulation in A.H. 1262, which was the date, according to the Muhammadan computation, of Zenker's work, and some of them may have been founded years before that date. This paper is not mentioned by Rabino, nor have I seen it.



(120)

**Jám-i-Jahán-numá** (*The World-shewing Goblet*). جام جهان نما

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta, appearing on Thursdays in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Mentioned by Zenker, *op. cit.*, under article No. 1833. Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

(121)

**Jarida-i-Tijarat** (*The Mercantile Magazine*). جریده تجارت

A weekly paper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting in Tihrán in A.H. 1297 (= A.D. 1880).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(122)

**Jarida-i-Kirmán** (*The Kirmán Magazine*). جریده کرمان

A paper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting, and appearing once in every ten days, under the editorship of Mírzá Ghulám-Husayn of Kirmán, in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The first number was dated the 17th of Rabī' i (= March 18) of that year.

Not in Rabino. I possess No. 1, which comprises 8 pp. of 12½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 20 *grins* in Kirmán, 24 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

(123)

**Jarida-i-Millī** (*The National Magazine*). جریده ملی

A bi-weekly paper lithographed at Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alī Akbar Khān. See *infra*, under *Rāsdma-i-Millī*.

See Rabino, No. 70. I possess Nos. 32-37, the first of which is dated the 4th of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1324 (= Jan. 9, 1907), comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 6½", and is lithographed in a large, clear *naskh*. The yearly subscription (100 copies) was 10 *grins* in Tabriz, 15 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, and 3½ roubles in Russia.

(124)

**al-Jamál** (*Beauty*). الجمال

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Muḥammad Husayn of Isfahán.

in which were published the homilies and harangues of the celebrated orator Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín of Isfahán, the Martyr<sup>1</sup>.

See Rabino, No. 71. I possess Nos. 3, 10, 12, 14 and 17-26. The first is dated the 13th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= March 28, 1907), and the last the 15th of Shawwál (= Nov. 21) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 8 *grúms* in Tíhrán, 10 *grúms* elsewhere in Persia, 1½ *mejliyyés* in Turkey and Egypt, 2 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 6 francs in Europe and America.

## (125)

Jamáliyya.

جمالیة

A weekly newspaper printed in Hamadán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Hájjí Muḥammad Ḥusayn and written by the *Mu'ayyid-i-Ḥuḡūr* in connection with the arrest of the late Áqá Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín in Hamadán as a preliminary to his martyrdom in A.H. 1326 (June-July, 1908). It was founded to perpetuate his name.

See Rabino, No. 72. I have no copy of this paper.

## (126)

Al-Janáb.

الجناب

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Isfahán towards the end of A.H. 1324 (= Dec. 1906) under the editorship of Mír Sayyid 'Alí Janáb.

See Rabino, No. 73, who describes it as "printed," but it is in fact lithographed. I possess Nos. 1-11, of which the first is dated the 20th of Shawwál, A.H. 1324 (= Dec. 9, 1906). Each number comprises 8 pp. of 12½" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 25 *grúms* in Isfahán. The first number is very badly lithographed in a very bad *ta'liq* hand, but the subsequent numbers are much better.

## (127)

Jangal-i-Mawlá (*The Lord's Jungle*).

جنگل مولا

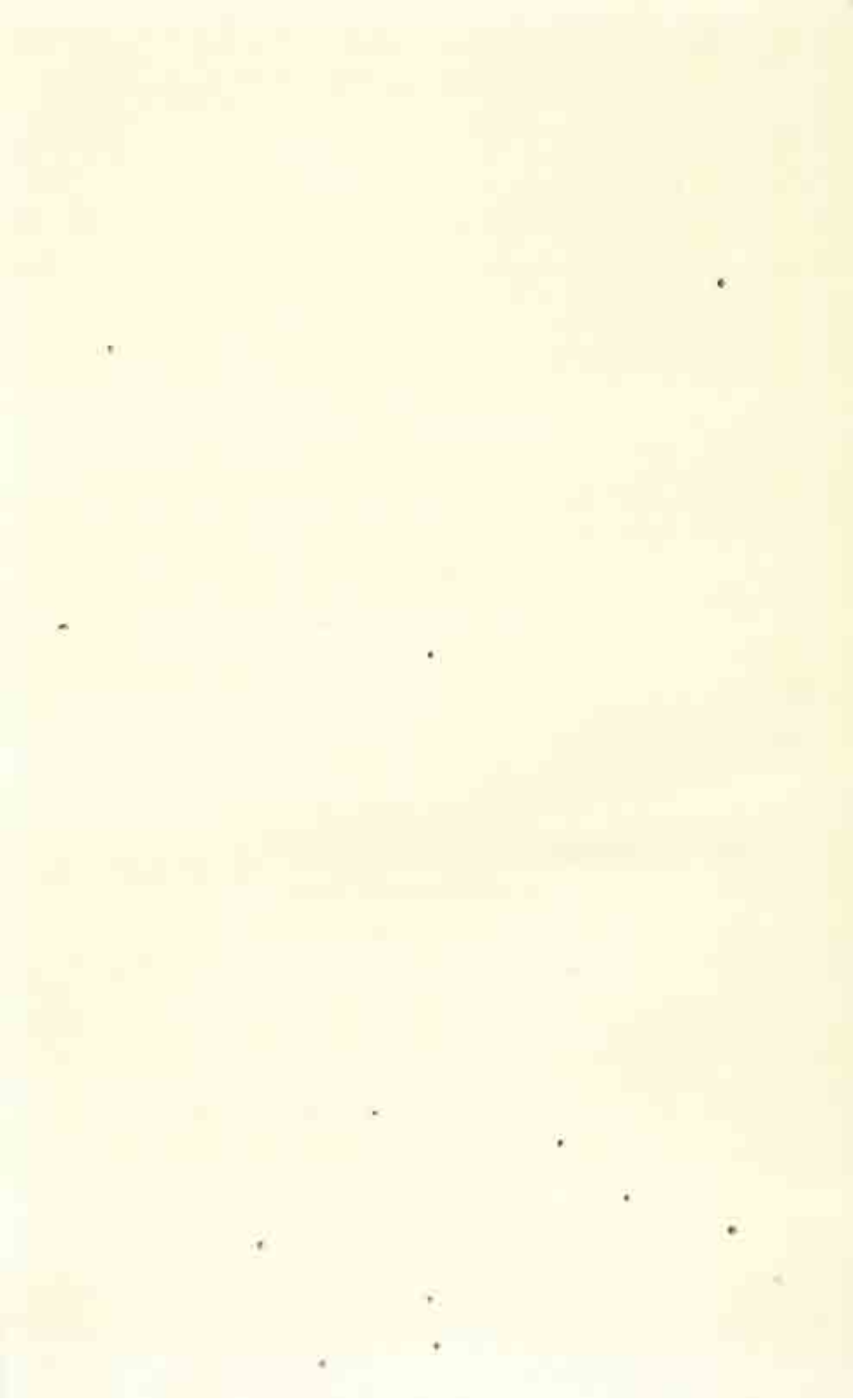
A weekly comic paper published in Tíhrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Husayn. The first number is dated the 20th of Rajab of that year (= July 17, 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of his life and death, see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 113, 116, 117, 137, 164, 165, 167, 199, 204 (with portrait) and 208. He was captured and put to death near Hamadán shortly after the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908.



Āqā Sayyid Jamālū'd-Dīn of Isfahān,  
Killed at Hamaḍān in the summer of 1908.





## (128)

**Janúb** (*The South*).

جنوب

A weekly newspaper printed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of "Tangistání," with Sayyid Ya'qúb-i-Shirází as the chief writer. This newspaper was the organ of the party called "Progressives" (*Taraqqí-khúdhán*), who championed the development of the Southern provinces of Persia, and was promoted and managed by a group of deputies representing the South in the Second National Assembly. Its most important contents consisted in criticisms of the Bakhtiyáris.

See Rabino, No. 74. I possess Nos. 3, 8, 10 and 11, of which the first is dated the 5th of Muharram, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 6, 1911). Each number comprises 8 pp. of  $14\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, Tíhrán, 18 *gráts*, elsewhere in Persia, 20 *gráts*, abroad, 22 *gráts*.

## (129)

**Jihád-i-Akbar** (*The Greater Warfare*).

جهاد اكبر

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán early in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Áqá of Khurásán. The first number appeared on Muharram 6 of that year (= Feb. 19, 1907). It was one of the most violent newspapers, and its extreme boldness and fiery utterances were an especial cause of complaint to Muḥammad 'Alí Sháh. Endeavours were made from Tíhrán to suppress it, but notwithstanding this it lasted for more than a year. Its policy was to promote liberal ideas and a thorough-going Constitutionalism.

See Rabino, No. 75, according to whom it continued publication from the 6th of Muharram, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 19, 1907), until the 4th of Rabī' ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 6, 1908). I do not possess a copy.

## (130)

**Jahán-árá** (*The World-adorning*).

جهان آرا

A weekly paper lithographed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abbás Khán and Mírzá Sulaymán Khán.

See Rabino, No. 76, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 30th of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= August 19, 1907). I do not possess a copy.

## (131)

**Júgháyi Lráber** (*The Julfá Intelligencer*).

ژوگهای لرابر

An Armenian newspaper published in Julfá of Isfahán under the editorship of Bákir Adwár Tazaryáns, deputy agent of the Armenians.

See Rabino, No. 135. I do not possess a copy.

## (132)

**Chápuk** (*The Rapid*).

چاپک

A weekly newspaper published on Thursdays in Bombay in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Mentioned by Zenker under article No. 1832, but not by Rabino, and not seen.

## (133)

**Chanta-i-Pá-barahna** (*The Beggar's Wallet*).

چنته پا برهنه

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahmúd Afshár the Druggist. This paper wrote in very simple and popular language about the advantages of Constitutionalism and the conditions of labourers and peasants, and had a good effect amongst the common people and villagers. It defended the policy of the Democrats.

See Rabino, No. 77. I possess a copy of No. 11, which is undated. It comprises 4 pp. of 13" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 5 *gráns* in Tíhrán. The writing is a large and clear but ungraceful *ta'liq*. It contains a poetical section entitled *Adabiyat-i-Bákhá Ahmad*.

## (134)

**Chihra-numá** (*The Face-shower*).

چهره نما

An illustrated paper printed in Alexandria, and published once every ten days, in A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904-5), under the editorship of Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Muhammad of Isfahán. After a while it became a weekly paper, and was transferred to Cairo.

See Rabino, No. 78, who only mentions the Cairo edition. I have no copy of any of the Alexandria issues.

## (135)

**Chihra-numá** (*The Face-shower*).

چهره نما

A weekly illustrated newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt), which still continues publication.

See Rabino, No. 78. I have a fairly complete set from the second to the ninth year (August 1906 until Dec. 1912). Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9½" x 6¼". Yearly subscription in Egypt, 3 dollars, Persia, 30 *grana*, Turkey, 4 mejidîyyés, England and India, 10 rupees, Turkistán and the Caucasus, 8 roubles, Europe and China, 20 francs.

## (136)

**Hablu'l-Matín** (*The Firm Cord*).

حبل المتين

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta, originally lithographed and subsequently printed, in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893-4), which has continued to appear regularly down to the present time, edited and written by Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín of Káshán, entitled *Mu'ayyidu'l-Islám*. It is the oldest regular Persian newspaper which still survives, and holds an important position, especially amongst men of learning and in religious circles, in which it has a special weight and influence. Some portion of it is always devoted to religious matters, and it is the champion of Pan-Islamism. One of the most important events connected with its history was the continuation of its publication after the suppression by the *Aminu's-Sultán* in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1) of the Persian newspapers published abroad, and the influence exerted by its efforts in bringing about his dismissal, especially by the publication in all countries of a photographic facsimile of the *takfir-náma*, or declaration of infidelity, of the *Aminu's-Sultán* signed by the chief *mujtahids* (divines) of Najaf, which *takfir-náma* the Transcaspian Gazette (*Majmú'a-i-Má-zward-yi-Bahr-i-Khazar*: see *infra*, *sub voce*) vainly endeavoured to discredit and prove fictitious. Mention must also be made of its fruitful efforts during the Reactionary Period known as "the Short Tyranny" (*Istibdad-i-Saghír*) to secure the renewal of the Constitution and to incite the 'ulamá to take action. The office of this newspaper, by reason of its old-established and steadily progressive character, produced many other publications and institutions, amongst which we may mention sundry useful

Persian books printed in and published by its Press, and also the foundation of the Persian newspapers *Miftāhu'l-Zafar* ("Key of Victory") and *Āzād* ("Freeman") and the *Mulk u Millat* ("Kingdom and Nation") in English, all in Calcutta; also the daily *Hablu'l-Matīn* in Tīhrān; and numerous printing-presses established under its name in Tīhrān, Najaf, Isfahān, etc.

See Rabino, No. 80. I possess a fairly complete set for the last seven or eight years (July 1902-December 1912) and a few of the older numbers, including No. 9 of the Seventh Year, which is lithographed, and bears the date 28 Sha'hān, A.H. 1317 (=Jan. 1, 1900). I do not know when the paper began to be printed instead of lithographed, but by A.D. 1905 the change had been effected. The lithographed copies are of larger size, comprising 12 pp. of  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ ". The yearly subscription was then 10 rupees for India, 35 *grims* for Persia and Afghanistan, 5 mejidiyyes for Turkey and Egypt, 25 francs for Europe and China, and 10 roubles for Russia. The later printed numbers comprise 16 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the subscription price is slightly higher.

## (137)

**Hablu'l-Matīn** (*The Firm Cord*).

حبل المتين

A daily paper printed in Tīhrān in the early part of A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan of Kāshān, brother of the *Mu'ayyidu'l-Islām*. Its publication was interrupted by the Reactionary *Coup d'État* and Bombardment of the *Majlis* (June 23, 1908), but after the restoration of the Constitution and the conquest of Tīhrān by the Nationalists it again issued several numbers. It was, however, suspended and its editor tried and condemned to two years imprisonment for printing an article *à propos* of the execution of Shaykh Fazlullāh of Nūr<sup>1</sup> which was considered to contain an attack on religion. This was the most important daily newspaper of the Constitutional Period, and in particular its political articles on Foreign Affairs, especially its criticisms on the Anglo-Russian Entente of A.D. 1907, were of a noteworthy character<sup>2</sup>.

## (138)

**Hablu'l-Matīn** (*The Firm Cord*).

حبل المتين

A daily paper printed at Rasht early in A.H. 1327 (=A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mīrzā Sayyid Ḥasan of Kāshān, editor

<sup>1</sup> See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 329-30 and 444-5. He was hanged on July 31, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the most important of these articles, published in September, 1907, are translated on pp. 172-92 of my *Persian Revolution*.



of the above-mentioned Tīhrān *Habbl'l-Matin*, who was exiled after the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and withdrew to the Caucasus, until, after the successful revolution at Rasht in Muḥarram, A.H. 1327 (= Jan.-Feb., 1909), he hastened thither and resumed the publication of his paper, which was continued there for four months and a half.

See Rabīno, No. 79, who conveniently brackets this and the above-mentioned paper, which are in fact identical in all save place of publication, while the Calcutta *Habbl'l-Matin* differs by being a weekly, not a daily paper, and by being under different editorship. I possess an almost complete set of the Tīhrān and Rasht *Habbl'l-Matin*. No. 1 is dated the 15th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1325 (= April 29, 1907), and the First Year ends with No. 274 (April 16, 1908). Of the Second Year I possess Nos. 1-51, the last dated June 18, 1908, only five days before the *Coup d'État* and Bombardment of the *Majlis*. The next number in my possession, dated March 15, 1909, belongs to the Rasht issue, and is entitled No. 56 of the Second Year, so that presumably four numbers appeared during the nine preceding months. It contains an article headed "the Time of Parting is ended," so that it may be the first number published at Rasht. No. 71 (April 5, 1909) is the last of the Second Year. Nos. 1-58 of the Third Year were published at Rasht, the latter bearing the date July 21, 1909. The next number (No. 1 of the Third Year of the revived Tīhrān issue) is dated July 25, 1909, and No. 2 of the same issue, dated July 29, 1909, is the last which I possess. The article which led to the suppression of the paper and the imprisonment of the editor probably appeared three or four days later. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 7". Yearly subscription, 40 *granas* in Tīhrān, 45 elsewhere in Persia, 12 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 30 francs in other countries.

## (139)

al-*Ḥadīd* (*Iron* or *The Keen One*).

الحديد

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1315 (= A.D. 1897-8), founded and edited by Mirzā Sayyid Ḥusayn Khān, editor of the newspapers *Shuḥbat* ("Conversation"), *ʿAddlat* ("Justice") and *Khabar* ("News"). After three numbers of this paper had been published, the Russian Consulate at Tabriz took the above-mentioned editor into its service in the Passport department, and this led to the suspension of the paper. After a while, however, in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) the paper was revived under the editorship of Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad of Shabistar, editor of the papers *Mujdhid* ("Volunteer") and *Irān-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), and continued to be published until the first general rising in Tabriz and the Proclamation of the Constitution, after which it changed its name to *ʿAddlat* ("Justice"). Some

numbers of this paper were published under the title *Ḥadīd* without the article.

See Rabino, No. 81, who describes it as "printed," not lithographed, and only mentions its second appearance in A.H. 1323-4. I possess a good many numbers of *al-Ḥadīd*, extending from No. 2 of the Second Year, dated the 8th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1324 (= June 30, 1906), to No. 49 of the same year, dated the 2nd of Jumāda I, A.H. 1325 (1324 is erroneously printed on the paper) = June 13, 1907. The numbering of the *ʿAddlat* seems to have been continuous with *al-Ḥadīd*, for No. 13 of the former paper, Shaʿbān 11, A.H. 1325 (printed "1324") = Sept. 19, 1907, begins with an announcement of the change of title. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 12" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 17 *grāns* in Tabriz, 20 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 *roshis* in Russia, and 10 francs in Europe.

## (140)

**Ḥurriyyat** (*Liberty*).

حریت

Mentioned by Rabino (No. 82), on whose authority it is here inserted, without any particulars. It is not otherwise known to me.

## (141)

**Ḥarf-i-Ḥaqq** (*Straight Talk*).

حرف حق

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in the latter part of A.H. 1325 (= Winter of 1907-8) by the former administration of the newspaper *ʿAddlat*, edited and written by Sayyid Ni'matu'llāh of Isfahān. In politics it was Conservative and moderate Constitutionalists.

See Rabino, No. 83, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 5th of Dhū'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 1325 (= Jan. 9, 1908). I possess a copy of this number, which comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 10 *grāns* in Tabriz, 15 elsewhere in Persia, 20 abroad. The printing is particularly good.

## (142)

**Ḥasharātu'l-Arz** (*Reptiles of the Earth*).

حشرات الارض

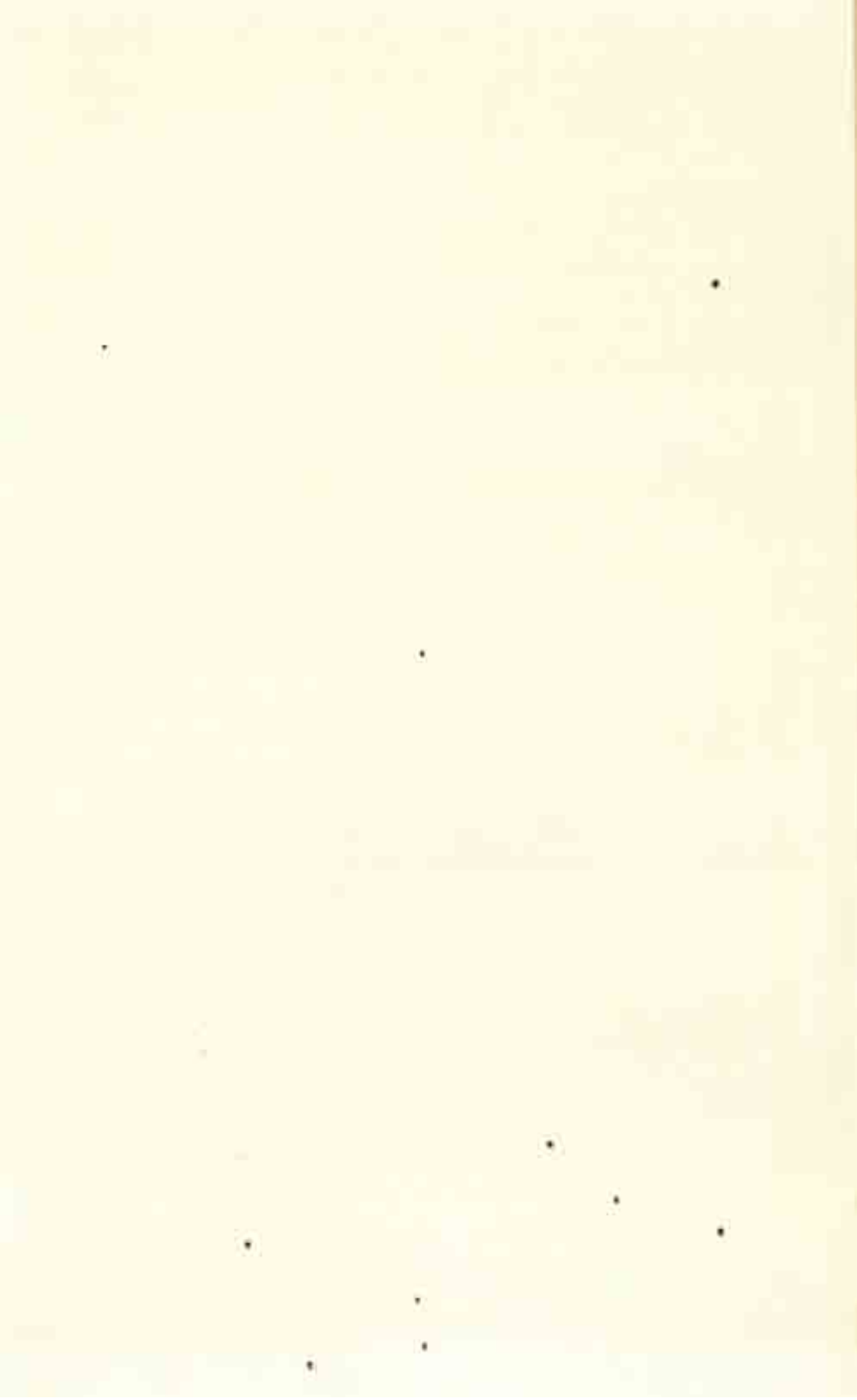
A comic weekly paper printed in Tabriz with coloured lithographed caricatures in the early part of A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908). It was founded and published by Hājji Mīrzā Āqā Billūri, and edited by Mīrzā Āqā, known as *Nāla-i-Millat* ("The Nation's Lament"), and was one of the best produced comic papers. In the Second Constitutional Period (end of July, 1909) it again appeared, but, not more than one number had been published



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The Myrmidons of the ex-Shah Muhammad 'Ali attend and report on a Constitutional Meeting

From No. 12 of the *Hasharimi*-Arz, June 8, 1908





when it was suppressed by the Government. In politics this paper was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist.

See Rabino, No. 84, according to whom the first number was published on the 14th of Šafar, A.H. 1326 (= March 18, 1908). I possess several numbers of the earlier issue. Each contains 4 pp. of 13" x 7", of which pp. 1 and 4 chiefly consist of caricatures. Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Tahriz, 16 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 10 francs abroad.

## (143)

**Hifẓ-i-Šihhat** (*The Preservation of Health*).

حفظ الصحة

A paper published in Tihrán, mentioned by Rabino (No. 85), but not otherwise known.

Dr Ahmad Khān says that it was founded about A.H. 1319 (A.D. 1901-2) in connection with the Council of Health established four or five years earlier.

## (144)

**Haqā'iq** (*Verities*).

حقایق

A weekly illustrated magazine printed at Bākū in the early part of the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), edited and written by Mirzā 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Uwaysī, Persian Vice-Consul at Bākū. Seven numbers were published.

See Rabino, No. 86, according to whom the first number was published on the 7th of Šafar, A.H. 1325 (= March 22, 1907). I have no copy in my possession.

## (145)

**Huqūq** (*Rights*).

حقوق

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in the early part of the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Sulaymān Mirzā, Yahyā Mirzā, and Mirzā Muḥammad of Khurāsān, editor of the paper *Najāt* ("Deliverance"), all three of whom were members of the Second National Assembly. It was first founded by the two brothers Sulaymān Mirzā and Yahyā Mirzā, who subsequently included Mirzā Muḥammad of Khurāsān in their partnership. In politics the paper was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist, but not Democrat, as stated by Rabino.

See Rabino, No. 87, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 22nd of Rabi' 1, A.H. 1326 (= April 24, 1908). I possess Nos. 4 and 5 of this paper. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Tihrán, 17 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

(146)

**Ḥaḡīqat** (*The Truth*).

حقیقت

A weekly paper published in Tih-rán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(147)

**Ḥaḡīqat** (*The Truth*).

حقیقت

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán early in the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Ḥájji Sayyid Ahmad.

See Rabino, No. 89, from whom the above particulars are taken. He adds that the second issue appeared on the 22nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 1325 (= March 7, 1907). I do not possess a copy.

(148)

**Ḥaḡīqat** (*The Truth*).

حقیقت

A "jelly-graphed" newspaper published at Rasht in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) on the part of the Executive of the *Anjuman-i-Ḥaḡīqat*.

See Rabino, No. 88, from whom the above particulars are taken. I do not possess a copy.

(149)

حکایت جان گداز وقایع از یزد الی شیراز

**Hikáyat-i-Ján-gudáz-i-Waqáyi' az Yazd ila Shiráz**(*The Soul-melting Tale of Events from Yazd to Shiráz*).A migratory newspaper lithographed in Shiráz and on the roads of Fārs in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The following superscription stood at the top of the first page: "News-editor, Ḥájji Fathu'lláh, poetically surnamed *Maftún*, son of the late Áqá 'Abdu'r-Raḥím of Yazd, known as Najafí, resident in the province of 'Arabistán in Persia." This paper is deserving of attention on account of its originality.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(150)

**Hikmat** (*Wisdom*).

حکمت

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo in A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892-3) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz, entitled

*Zatmūd-Dawla* and *Rā'isu'l-Hukamā*, which still appears in a somewhat irregular fashion, usually about three numbers a month being published. This paper also is one of the older papers which achieved a considerable celebrity in the earlier days, and especially promoted the use of pure Persian undiluted with Arabic. One of the most notable productions of this paper was the poem known as "The Lament of the Fatherland" (*Faryād-i-Waṭan*) in the metre known as *Tawīl* ("the Long").

See *Rabīno*, No. 90. I possess a number of copies ranging from No. 146 (of the Seventh Year), dated *Safar* 1, A.H. 1316 (= June 21, 1898), to No. 881 (of the Fifteenth Year) dated *Safar* 1, A.H. 1325 (= March 15, 1907). The former is printed in a larger size than the succeeding numbers, and comprises 8 pp. of 14" x 9". The later numbers (at any rate from the Eighth Year onwards) comprise 16 pp. of 9½" x 8". Yearly subscription, 40 *grāns*; Russia and the Caucasus, 10 roubles; India, 15 rupees; Egypt and Europe, £1 E.

## (151)

**Ḥayāt** (*Life*).

حیات

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihṛān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

Not in *Rabīno*, and not seen.

## (152)

**Ḥayāt** (*Life*).

حیات

A paper lithographed in Shīrāz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910). It was published there by a fugitive Liberal patriot from India called "Sūfī," who was presently again compelled to seek safety in flight by the harshness of the British Consul, and the newspaper was thereupon suspended, after only eight numbers of it had appeared. The editor's full name was Šūfī Ānbabārshā, a native of Murādābād in the Deccan.

See *Rabīno*, No. 91. I possess the number described by him (No. 2, dated the 11th of Jumādā 1, A.H. 1328 = May 21, 1910), but am not certain as to the identification with the paper described in the text, for though on the one hand there are evidences of Indian authorship (as in the form *Angels* for *English*, English), the editor's name appears as Muḥammad Ḥusayn *Kāshim-i-Sharī'at* ("Servant of the Holy Law"), and the place of publication as the *Maydān-i-Tūpchiāna*, or "Gun Square," which suggests Tihṛān rather than Shīrāz. (I am informed by Dr. Ahmad Khān, however, that *maydāns* of the same name exist at Shīrāz and Mashhad, if not at Isfahān also.) In any case this paper comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 6½" and is lithographed in a good *ta'liq* hand. Yearly subscription, 10 *tāmans*.

## (153)

**Kháwaristán** (*The Eastern Land*).

خاورستان

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Murtazá Khán *Pitádu'l-Milla*.

See *Rahino*, No. 92. I possess Nos. 1 and 2, the first dated the 20th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1327 (= November 4, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 35 *grains* in Tihrán, 40 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 45 *grains* abroad.

## (154)

**Khabar** (*News*).

خبر

A daily newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mirzá Sayyid Husayn Khán, the former editor of the newspapers *al-Hadid*, *'Adalat* and *Shahbat* (*q.v.*).

See *Rahino*, No. 93, according to whom No. 5 was published on the 5th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 10, 1910). I do not possess a copy.

## (155)

**Khurásán**.

خراسان

A weekly paper printed in Mashhad (Khurásán) in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

See *Rahino*, No. 94, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 25th of Safar, A.H. 1327 (= March 18, 1909). I possess several numbers ranging from No. 2 (dated the 3rd of Rabī' i, A.H. 1327 = March 25, 1909) to No. 24 (dated the 25th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 = August 17, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 13" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Mashhad, 15 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, 18 *grains* abroad. Editor M. S. Husayn.

## (156)

**Khurram** (*Gay*).

خرم

A fortnightly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Hájji Mir Husayn.

See *Rahino*, No. 95. I possess No. 2, which is dated the 19th of Rabī' i, A.H. 1325 (= May 12, 1907), and comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 15 *grains* in Tihrán and neighbourhood, 24 *grains* elsewhere in Persia.

## (157)

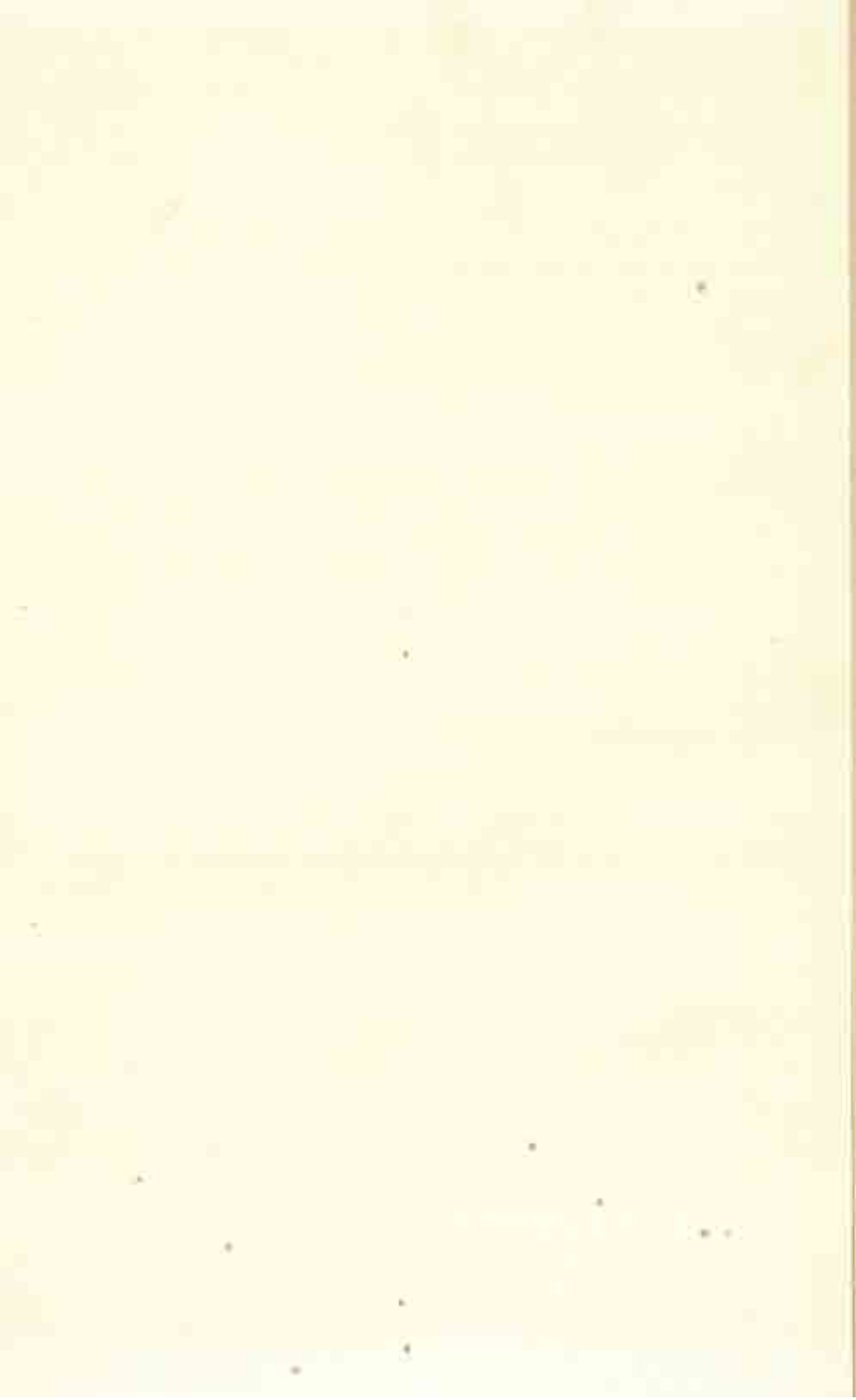
**Khulāṣath'l-Hawádith** (*Summary of News*).

خلاصة الحوادث

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9). This paper, which appeared as a single sheet or leaf, contained a summary of telegraphic news, was the first daily paper in







Persia, and lasted more than five years. It was founded by Muḥammad Bāqir Khān *ʿIṣmādī's-Saltāna* at the time when he was made Minister of the Press.

See *Rahino*, No. 96, according to whom it first appeared in Jumāda II, A.H. 1316 (=Oct.-Nov., 1898), while the last issue seen (No. 1107) was dated the 18th of Rabi' II, A.H. 1321 (=August 13, 1903). I possess Nos. 874 (Aug. 7, 1902) to 879. Each consists of one sheet (2 pp.) of 12½" x 6½". Monthly subscription, 3 *grāms*.

## (158)

**Khilāfat** (*Caliphate*).

خلافت

A fortnightly paper printed in London in A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Hājji Shaykh Hasan of Tabriz. This newspaper was founded by the above-mentioned Shaykh Hasan in partnership and co-operation with a fugitive from Egypt [Najīb Hindiya, a Syrian, brother of the well-known Cairo printer Amīn Hindiya], and successive numbers appeared, some in Persian, some in Arabic, and some in Turkish. The Persian numbers, most of which were devoted to attacks on "Prince" Arfa'u'd-Dawla, then Persian Ambassador at Constantinople, were written by the above-mentioned Shaykh Hasan.

See *Rahino*, No. 97, who gives the date of first appearance as the 9th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1324 (=July 1, 1906). I possess a good many copies of the Turkish, Arabic and Persian issues, for I was acquainted with both editors, and Shaykh Hasan was for some time (about 1907-9) Persian teacher at Cambridge. The oldest Turkish issue which I possess is No. 43 of the Second Year, dated April 5, 1901, and the oldest Arabic issue No. 163 of the Seventh Year, dated Nov. 1, 1906, so that the paper must have been started early in 1900. Of the Persian issue I possess Nos. 1-15, the first dated July 1, 1906, and the last Feb. 15, 1907. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 14" x 8½". Yearly subscription, England, 8s.; Persia, 50 *grāms*; Turkey and Egypt, 50 piastres; Russia, 4 roubles; Europe and China, 10 francs.

## (159)

**Khurshid** (*The Sun*).

خورشید

A newspaper published in Tihṙān under the management of the Principal of the *Dārul-Funūn*, or University.

Not in *Rahino*, and not seen.

## (160)

**Khurshid** (*The Sun*).

خورشید

A weekly paper printed and lithographed in Mashhad in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā Muḥammad

Šádiq Khán of Tabriz. Subsequently four numbers of this paper were published weekly. In politics it was Moderate, not Democrat, as stated by Rabino.

See Rabino, No. 98, who says that the paper was started in Muharram, A.H. 1325 (=Feb.-March, 1907), and was still appearing when he wrote in A.H. 1329 (=A.D. 1911). I possess a good many copies, of which the first is No. 1 (dated Muharram 21, 1325=March 6, 1907). This as well as No. 3 is lithographed in a large, clear *naskh*, but No. 10 (dated the 29th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1325=May 12, 1907) is printed. No. 104 (dated the 25th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1325=Jan. 29, 1908) is the last number of the First Year which I possess. No. 139 (Second Year) is dated the 13th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1326 (=April 15, 1908). No. 2 of the Third Year (the next in my possession) is again lithographed in a poor *taliq* hand, and is dated the 24th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (=August 11, 1909). No. 33 of the same year is still lithographed, but once more in *naskh*. No. 36 of the Fourth Year, dated the 21st of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (=Dec. 24, 1910), is again printed, while No. 68 of the same year, dated the 27th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1329 (=June 25, 1911), is considerably enlarged in size, each page containing three instead of two columns. With this exception the pages (originally eight, later four) measure 12" x 7". Yearly subscription, 32 *gráns* in Mashhad, 36 *gráns* elsewhere in Persia, 8 roubles in Turkistan and the Caucasus, and 20 francs abroad.

## (161)

**Khayál** (*Imagination*).

خیال

Of this paper, not mentioned by Rabino or Mirzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat," I possess one copy (No. 1), undated, which was lithographed at Rasht. On page 1 is a coloured portrait of Sultán Ahmad Sháh (who succeeded his deposed father, Muhammad 'Alí, on July 16, 1909), and on page 4 is a political cartoon. Yearly subscription, 12 *gráns* in Rasht, 17 *gráns* elsewhere in Persia, 20 *gráns* abroad. Size of page, 12" x 7½". Editor, *Afshar-i-Mutakallimín*.

## (162)

**Khayru'l-Kalám** (*The Best of Discourses*).

خیر الکلام

A paper published at Rasht, originally lithographed, afterwards printed, in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907) under the editorship of *Afshar-i-Mutakallimín*. Of this paper 80 numbers a year were published, and in witty writing it was one of the most amusing of all the Persian newspapers. Its editor in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907) incurred the displeasure of Amír Khán Sardár, entitled *Amír-i-A'zam*, then Governor of Gilán, who, from motives of revenge,



caused him to be severely bastinadoed. On regaining his freedom he fled to Tīhrān, and there renewed the publication of his paper, of which, however, only six numbers were published in the course of two months, when it was again transferred to Rasht. During its later days (A.H. 1328-9 = A.D. 1910-11) the paper was Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 99, who gives the 24th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 4, 1907), as the date of the first issue at Rasht, where the paper was still continued in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) when he wrote. He adds that Nos. 13-19 of the First Year were published at Tīhrān, and that it was issued at Tīhrān from the 25th of Dhul-Hijja, A.H. 1325, until the 23rd of Šafar, A.H. 1326 (= Jan. 29, 1908, until March 27, 1908).

## (163)

**Khayru'l-Kalām** (*The Best of Discourses*).

خبر الكلام

A paper printed in Tīhrān towards the end of A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of *Afšāru'l-Mutakallimīn*. Only six numbers appeared in the course of six months at Tīhrān, when it was again transferred to Rasht. Latterly the politics of the paper were Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 99. I possess a fairly complete set extending from No. 1 of the First Year (Aug. 4, 1907) to No. 3 of the Fourth Year (26th of Jumáda i, A.H. 1329 = May 23, 1911). The last two numbers only are lithographed, the rest printed. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 7". Yearly subscription, Rasht, 25 *qirdus*; elsewhere in Persia, 30 *qirdus*; Russia, 6 roubles.

## (164)

**Khayr-andīsh** (*Well-meaning*).

خبر اندیش

A paper lithographed in Tabriz which first appeared on the 2nd of Rabī' i, A.H. 1327 (= March 24, 1909), in the Turkish language. This statement is quoted from Rabino, but the writer has great doubts as to the existence of such a paper at that date, which corresponded with the later days of the siege of Tabriz, a time of great distress and severe want; nor have I been able to trace it by enquiries of the leading personages of that period.

See Rabino, No. 100. I possess No. 1 of this paper, from which it appears that the year of publication was A.H. 1326, not 1327, so that the date of its first publication was April 4, 1908, and the difficulty raised above is solved. My copy consists of a single sheet (1 pp.) only of 12" x 6½". Price, 1 *shāhī* in Tabriz, 1½ *shāhīs* elsewhere.

(165)

**Dāru'l-Ilm** (*Home of Learning* = *Shirāz*).

دار العلم

A weekly paper lithographed in Shirāz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Ināyatu'llāh *I'timādū't-Tawliya* of Shirāz, known as "The Hand from the Unseen" (*Dast-i-Ghayb*).

See *Rahino*, No. 101. I possess Nos. 9, 11, 14, 16, of which the first is dated the 22nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 6, 1909). Each number comprises 8 pp. of 10" x 2½". Yearly subscription, 17 *grāns* in Shirāz, 22 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia, 25 *grāns* in Europe and America, 5 *mejdiyyēs* in Turkey and Egypt.

(166)

**Dānish** (*Knowledge*).

دانش

A fortnightly newspaper lithographed in Tihirān in A.H. 1299 (= A.D. 1881-2). Concerning it the *I'timādū's-Saltana* writes: "The late *Mukhbirū'd-Dawla* founded this paper in the *Dāru'l-Funūn* when he was Director of that College and Minister of the Press out of rivalry with the late *I'timādū's-Saltana*." *Zakdū'l-Mulk* writes: "The newspaper *Dānish* was printed in the *Dāru'l-Funūn*, and was written by the late Mīrzā Kāzīm, Professor of Chemistry. The first number of it was published on Rajab 23, 1299 (= June 10, 1882), and the last on Safar 16, A.H. 1300 (= Dec. 27, 1882). Two numbers were published monthly, and in all fourteen numbers appeared."

Not in *Rahino*, and not seen.

(167)

**Dānish** (*Knowledge*).

دانش

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihirān in A.H. 1299, the first number being dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja in that year (= Nov. 4, 1882).

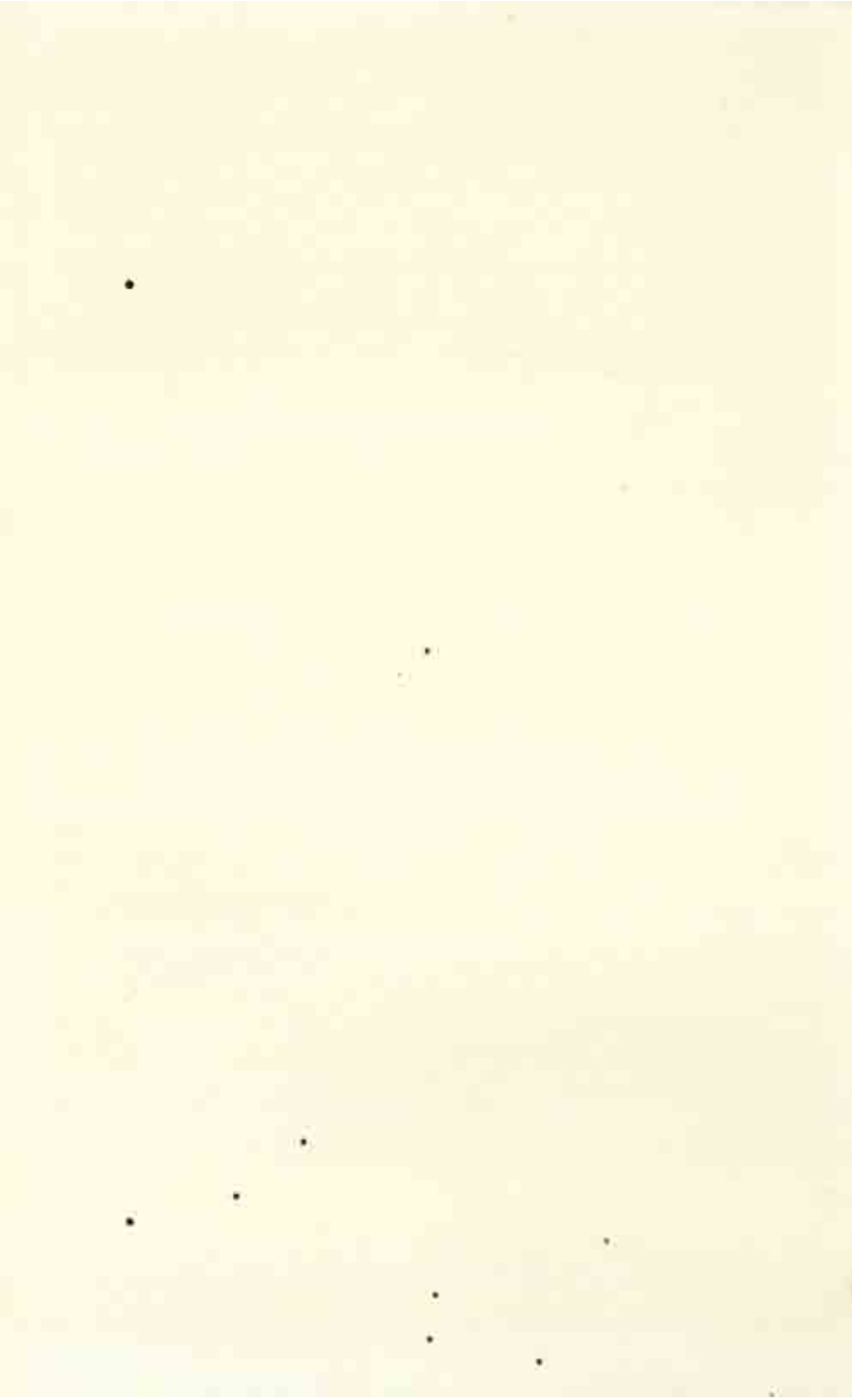
Not mentioned by *Rahino*, and not seen.

(168)

**Dānish** (*Knowledge*).

دانش

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihirān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of the wife of Dr Ḥusayn





تازہ گلینہ احترام



گلینہ احترام (بر آیدان سوگرا)

Before and after the Honeymoon

(From *Mulki Nagra'd-Din*, Year III, No. 3, Feb. 16, 1908) \*



**Khān the Oculist** (*Kahhāl*). This is the only Persian newspaper written exclusively for women and discussing topics of special interest to women.

See Rabino, No. 107, according to whom No. 4 was issued on the 12nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (=Oct. 27, 1910). I do not possess a copy.

(169)

**Dabistān** (*The School*).

دبستان

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Tabriz in the earlier part of A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mīrzā Rīzā, Principal of the "Parwarish" College.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(170)

**Dabīriyya**.

دبیریہ

A publication in the form of a newspaper produced at Rasht under the editorship of *Dabīrū'l-Mamlūk*, and containing poems and literary articles. Though not in the strict sense of the word a newspaper, but rather resembling a tract or irregular leaflets, yet, as it bore some resemblance to a newspaper, it is mentioned here amongst them.

See Rabino, No. 105. I possess two numbers, one dated only with the year (A.H. 1306), the other dated the 15th of Rabi' ii of that year (=May 17, 1908). Each consists of a single sheet of 11" x 2½", printed on one side only, and each contains one single poem only.

(171)

**Dastūr**.

دستور

A newspaper printed at Rasht twice a week in Rajab, A.H. 1328 (=July, 1910), of which three numbers only were published.

See Rabino, No. 104, from whom the above particulars are derived. He describes it as a religious paper. I possess No. 2, dated the 18th of Rajab, A.H. 1328 (=July 28, 1910). It comprises 4 pp. of 14½" x 10". Yearly subscription, 25 *grinar* in Rasht, 30 elsewhere in Persia. It describes itself as "a historical, political and ethical paper, supporting the independence of Persia."

(172)

**Da'watu'l-Islām** (*The Preaching of Islām*).

دعوة الاسلام

A fortnightly religious paper lithographed in Bombay in A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906), under the editorship of Sayyid

Muhammad 'Alī of Isfahān, called *Dā'i'l-Islām* ("The Missionary of Islām").

See Rabino, No. 105, who gives the date of the first and last issue as Rabi' al-Thani 1, A.H. 1324 (= Oct. 19, 1906), and the 1st of Jumāda II, A.H. 1325 (= July 12, 1907). I possess Nos. 1-19 (with a few lacunae), of which Nos. 15 and following are printed, not lithographed. Each number contains 8 pp. of  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 3 rupees in India, 12 grāns in Persia, 1½ mejidiyyēs in Turkey, 3 roubles in the Caucasus and Turkistān, and 7 francs in Europe, China and Egypt.

## (173)

**Da'watu'l-Haqq** (*The Preaching of the Truth*).

دعوة الحق

A monthly religious magazine printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903-4) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad 'Alī of Dizfūl, known as *Bahjat*, a Member of the Second National Assembly, and proprietor of the *Ma'arif* Library and newspaper.

See Rabino, No. 106, according to whom this paper was first issued on the 1st of Sha'ban, A.H. 1321 (= Oct. 23, 1903). Only 10 numbers appeared in the First Year. Not seen.

## (174)

**Difā'iyya** (*Defence*).

دفاعیه

A paper lithographed in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Afshar-Zāda, of which only one number appeared.

See Rabino, No. 107, from whom this information is derived.

## (175)

**Dīwān-i-'Adālat** (*The Court of Justice*).

دیوان عدالت

A weekly paper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of *Mudabbiru'l-Mamālik* of Hīrand, editor of the *Tamaddun* ("Civilization": see *supra*, Nos. 106-108).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (176)

**Rāh-i-Khayāl** (*Fancy's Way*).

راه خیال

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of *Afshar-i-Mutakallimīn*, the editor of the

*Khayrū'l-Kalām*, who founded it when the last-named paper was suspended. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rahino, No. 108, who gives the first of Sha'bān, A.H. 1319 (= July 28, 1911), as the date of inception. I have no copy.

## (177)

**Ra'd** (*Thunder*).

رعد

A weekly newspaper printed in Qazwīn in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Sayyid 'Alī, written by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alī of Tīhrān, known as *Mubad*, editor of the paper *Madī* (q.v.). Democrat in politics.

See Rahino, No. 109, who gives Rabī' ii, A.H. 1329 (= April, 1911), as the date of inception. I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 4 (the first dated April 23, 1911). Each comprises 4 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$ . Yearly subscription, 6 *qirdus* in Qazwīn and 8 *qirdus* elsewhere in Persia.

## (178)

**Rūḥu'l-Amīn** (*The Trusty Spirit*).

روح الأمين

A weekly newspaper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

See Rahino, No. 110. I do not possess a copy of this paper.

## (179)

**Rūḥu'l-Qudus** (*The Holy Spirit*).

روح القدس

A paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of the *Sultānu'l-'Ulamā* of Khurāsān. This paper achieved a special notoriety on account of its extraordinary boldness, and published in its thirteenth number a personal attack on Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh and his anti-constitutional actions, threatening him with the fate of Louis XVI, King of France, and recalling the Great French Revolution. In consequence of this article it was suppressed, but after a while resumed publication. The editor of this newspaper was a man of extraordinary convictions and zeal, and took a personal share in the National efforts to defend the Constitution. Thus he participated *vi et armis* in the struggle between the Nationalists and the troops of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh on the occasion of the

Reactionary *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and fought valorously in defence of the *Majlis*. Finally he was taken prisoner, was confined in chains in the Bâgh-i-Shâh, and ultimately suffered a martyr's death, and was thrown into a well. The politics of the paper were Revolutionary.

See Rahins, No. 111, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 25th of Jumâdâ ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 5, 1907), while No. 26 appeared on the 18th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 20, 1908). I possess the celebrated No. 13 (published on Nov. 5, 1907) alluded to above, and the article in question will be found translated on pp. 156-161 of my *Persian Revolution*. The paper comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *grdus* in Tihân, 17 *grdus* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, and 10 francs in other foreign countries.

## (180)

**Rûznâma-i-Îrân-i-Sultânî**

روزنامه ایران سلطانی

(*The Royal Gazette of Persia*).

An official fortnightly newspaper printed in Tihân in A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903-4) under the management of Mullâ Muḥammad *Nadimû's-Sultân* (formerly *Nadim-bâshâ*, or Chief Attendant at the Court), at that time Minister of Publications, and edited and written by *Afṣalû'l-Mulk*, "Deputy-Minister of Publications and Accountant of the Supreme Court." This paper was the original *Îrân* (*q.v.*), thus renamed when it was placed in charge of the *Nadimû's-Sultân*. Its first number was published early in the month of Muḥarram in that year (April, 1903). At the top of the title-page it bore the following inscription: "This Royal paper, which appears by special command and enjoys the particular regards of His Most Sacred and Imperial Majesty, is entirely free from all control or limitation, and whatever it writes is truly written" (!). Of its more pleasing contents one portion was devoted to literary matters. Amongst these was the "*Niṣâb* of Abu'z-Zafar Ṣâdiq-i-Farâhânî," an imitation of the well-known rhymed vocabulary of Abû Naṣr-i-Farâhî known as the *Niṣâb-i-Ṣibyân*, composed by Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq Khân *Adibul-Mamâlik*, poetically named *Amîrî*, editor of the newspaper *Adab*. This rhymed glossary of old Persian words began to appear in No. 4 of the paper, and was continued in the succeeding numbers, one *chakâma*, or canto, being published in each. I possess the whole in manuscript, and here subjoin as a



specimen some verses from the beginning of the first *chakāma*, written in the metre called *Khafif* ("The Light").

آن بُت شوخ چشم مه سیمَا	تظهِر قهرنگِ فُرس جُست از ما
فاعلاتن مقادیرین فعدان	شو بهجر خفیف جامه سرا
پاک یزدان و ایزدست خدا	هده حق زنده حی عیان پیدا
دان نبی را بیمبر و وخشور	خاندان اهل بیت و جامه کسا
شرع آئین نظام دهناد است	حکم یرمان روش بود یاسا
گوزمان عوش و زیرکه کرسی	هست کُرقه بزه ثواب و خطا
نار دوزخ صراط چینود است	باغ مینو بهشت روح افزا
کار به ناکله جنب سُنّت	ناروا منع شد حلال روا
سحر فرهست و معجزه فرهود	نیز فرجاد فاضل دانا
کعبه آباد خوان نوی فرقان	کنک دژهوخت مسجد الاقصی

This *chakāma* comprises more than forty couplets, and includes in its verses many unfamiliar and obsolete words to which it assigns definite scientific meanings.

The year A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903-4) in which the *Rāznama-i-Īrān-i-Sulṭān* first appeared under this title is described at the top of the page as the "fifty-sixth year of publication," and so is continued until it came to an end in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7), which is described as the "fifty-ninth year of publication." Now the first foundation of a Government newspaper in Persia was in A.H. 1267 (= A.D. 1850-1), before which date we are unaware of the existence of any newspaper; and this is confirmed by the following passage in the third volume of the *Muntazam-i-Nāsirī* treating of the events of the year A.H. 1267: "It was also in this year that there was founded in this Empire of eternal duration, that is to say in the glorious metropolis thereof, a Government newspaper containing domestic and foreign news, commercial advertisements, etc." Now according to this computation, the year A.H. 1321 would be the fifty-fifth, not the fifty-sixth, of this foundation, and in order to solve this difficulty I wrote to H.E. the *ʿĀtimdu's-Saltāna*, who returned the following answer, which I give *verbatim*:

"The solution of this difficulty is as follows. During the period of the late lamented *ʿItimādū's-Saltāna* and the earlier period of my management of the paper, no allusion was ever made in the title of the newspaper to the year of its foundation. But when the management of the paper passed into the hands of the *Nadīmū's-Sultān*, he changed the title of the old *ʾIrān* to *Rūznāma-i-ʾIrān-i-Sultānī*, and added the words 'fifty-sixth year' at the top of the page. Afterwards when *Mujirū'd-Dawla*, the writer of the paper, withdrew for a while from it, and it was written by *Afzalū'l-Mulk*, at this juncture an error of two years crept into the computation. When I again accepted this service, I repeatedly called the attention of *Mujirū'd-Dawla* to this error, but he always replied, 'There is no need to reverse this act or revise this date, for it is now a thing of the past.' It is, however, certain that there was an error here."

As a specimen of the manner in which the contents of the newspapers of that period were edited, I here append a paragraph of a few lines occurring in No. 4 of this paper, dated Tuesday, Šafar 21, A.H. 1321 (= May 19, 1903), under the heading of "Court News," which runs as follows.

"Praise be to God, the auspicious and fortunate person of His Most Sacred Majesty, the Shadow of God on this earth (may our lives be his sacrifice!), is in the extreme of health and happiness, and daily devotes attention to matters of importance conducive to the well-being of the community. On the ninth day of this month His Most Sacred Majesty, the Shadow of God, attended by the nobles of the Court and intimates of the Royal Threshold, set out for a stay of some days at the village of Kan, situated at a distance of two parasangs from Tīhrān, in order to divert and refresh the mind, and to practise horsemanship and marksmanship. There they alighted in Royal state, with all due pomp and circumstance, and signal splendour and glory, and abode in that village several days and nights. Every day until after noon His Majesty busied himself with the perusal of the reports received from the different Ministries and Governors, and with reading telegrams from the home provinces and remoter districts of Persia, while in the afternoon he employed his auspicious time in marksmanship and the chase.

On the morning of Wednesday the fifteenth he returned from Kan to the capital of Tihrán, which is the Abode of the supreme Sovereignty, in order to deal with various domestic and foreign affairs."

It is worth noting that this specimen of journalistic style belongs to the latter period of Muẓaffarū'd-Dīn Shāh's reign, only a short time before the Constitution was proclaimed!

Not in Rahino. I possess No. 4 of this paper, dated Safar 21, A.H. 1321, and May 19, 1905. It comprises 8 pp. of 9" x 6½", and is very well printed in double columns.

## (181)

**Rūznāma-i-Tabriz** (*The Tabriz Gazette*).

روزنامه تبریز

A newspaper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1275 (= A.D. 1858-9) of which mention is made in the *Rūznāma-i-Waqāy' i-Ittifaqiyya* (see footnote on the article dealing with that paper). As the correct title of this newspaper is unknown to us, we have placed it under the above title, but it is very probable that it is that same *Tabriz* which was afterwards revived when Muẓaffarū'd-Dīn was Crown Prince.

## (182)

**Rūznāma-i-Hakimu'l-Mamalik**

روزنامه حکیم الممالک

(*The Hakimu'l-Mamalik's Journal*).<sup>1</sup>

A paper printed in Tihrán under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Alī Naqī the physician, son of Āqā Isma'īl, a Jew converted to Islām, entitled *Hakimu'l-Mamalik*, chief page-in-waiting (*Pish-khidmat-bāshī*) of Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Shāh. This man, having completed his studies in Europe, returned to Persia in A.H. 1278 (= A.D. 1861-2), received the title of *Hakimu'l-Mamalik* during the Shāh's journey to Khurāsān in A.H. 1284 (= A.D. 1867-8), and was made Governor of Burūjird in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876). Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Shāh was himself the writer of this newspaper, though he attributed it by way of a joke to the *Hakimu'l-Mamalik*, under whose signature it was published. In all, three numbers were published, all written by Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Shāh. Of these, one describes the emotions of a young man who comes forth

<sup>1</sup> The proper name of this paper is not certainly known, and it has been inserted under this title only for the sake of introducing it to the reader.



from his house on a Spring morning to enjoy the Spring season; another the emotions of an old man who likewise tastes the Spring; and the third the Ascension to Heaven (*m'raj*) of the *Hakimul-Mamalik*, which led to his being denounced as an infidel and to the paper being discontinued. These three sheets are very amusing. (The last particulars are taken from a letter from H.E. the *I'timād-ü's-Saltāna*.)

As is well known, Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh used to "chaff" the *Hakimul-Mamalik* a great deal, especially on the journey to Khurāsān, when the Shāh himself composed, in the form of a panegyric, some verses satirizing him. As these verses are not lacking in wit, some of them are here given.

ای حکیم الممالک سلطان	که بشاگردیت سزد لقمان
ای فلاطون ترا کمینه علام	ای ارسطو بیش تو نادان
لیکن اوصاف حکمت را من	نگم بر جهانیان پنهان
نسخه ات را چو می برند بروم	زیره گوئی برتد در کرمان
گر بیماری تو نبض بیماری	روز محشر بگیرد دامن
گر معالج شوی به مسکینی	دهی فرق گوش از دندان
زعفران گر دهی بگریه شود	آنکه بودی بصبح و شب خندان
خواهی از داروئی نمائی شح	جای هاون بیآوری ستان
اثر ملح خواهی از شکر	خشکی معده جوئی از ریحان
.....	
هردرائی که می دهی بهریض	واجب است استخاره قرآن
چون بعجز آئی از علاج کسی	مدد و بخت جوئی از شیطان
گر شفا یافت از تو بیماری	داد عمر دو باره اش یزدان
گرتو باشی طبیب یک دوسه سال	کس نماند بخطه ایران
اینچنین بو العجب فلاطون را	شاید از شه نواز از احسان

(183)

*Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Īrān* دولت علیّه ایران  
(*Journal of the Sublime State of Persia*).

A paper lithographed in Tihirān early in A.H. 1277 (July–Aug. 1860), and containing accounts of happenings in the



various provinces of Persia, and portraits of statesmen and persons of note, with narratives of their circumstances. Probability points to its having succeeded the *Waqdyi-i-Ittisfāqiyya* ("Fortuitous Events"), which assumed this new name in about the 470th issue.

See Rabino, No. 112, according to whom No. 471 (*i.e.* the first number of the *Waqdyi* which appeared under the new name) was dated the 28th of Muharram, A.H. 1377 (= Aug. 11, 1860), while No. 565 was dated the 17th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1381 (= Nov. 17, 1864).

## (184)

**Rūznāma-i-Dawlati** (*State Journal*).

روزنامه دولتی

A paper lithographed in Tih-rān, containing domestic, foreign and Court news. I have seen No. 622 of this paper, which is dated Thursday the 7th of Jumāda ii, corresponding to the auspicious Year of the Leopard, A.H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, A.D. 1868). Above the title on the first page stand the Lion and the Sun, over which is written: "Printed in the Victorious Abode of the Caliphate" (*Dārul-Khilāfa*, *i.e.* Tih-rān) "in the Blessed College of the *Dārul-Funūn*, in the workshops of the State Printing-Press. Price of each copy, 14 shāhis; yearly subscription, in addition to the *Rūznāma-i-Ilmī* ('Scientific Gazette') and the *Rūznāma-i-Millatī* ('National Gazette'), 36 qdrāns." This paper, according to the most probable conjecture, succeeded the previously-mentioned *Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-Aliyya-i-Īrān* (No. 183 *supra*). A brief account of both of these papers has been given in the Introduction (pp. 10 *et seqq.*).

I possess No. 622, mentioned above. It comprises 5 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$ , bears a large Lion and Sun on the top of p. 1, and is lithographed in good *ta'liq*.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

## (185)

**Rūznāma-i-Rasmī-i-Dawlat-i-Īrān**

روزنامه رسمی دولت ایران

(*Official Gazette of the Persian Government*).

A daily paper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of the *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mamālik*, editor of the *Pulīs-i-Īrān* (*q.v.*). It used to publish full reports of the debates

of the Second National Assembly, and its publication is still continued.

See Rabino, No. 113, who says that three numbers a week were published, and that the date of inception was the 18th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1329 (= April 18, 1911). I possess No. 1, which, in fact, is so dated. It comprises 50 pp. of 10" x 7½" and is printed in three columns. Yearly subscription, 45 *grana* in Tihiran, 55 elsewhere in Persia, 70 abroad.

(186)

**Rūznāma-i-Shaykh Faḡlu'llāh**

(*Shaykh Faḡlu'llāh's Journal*).

روزنامه شیخ فضل الله

A paper lithographed at Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīm in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) on behalf of the Reactionaries (Shaykh Faḡlu'llāh-i-Nūri and his confederates) who had taken sanctuary in the above-mentioned shrine, and who remained there, at the instigation and by the encouragement of Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā, the deposed Shāh, for nearly five months, endeavouring to subvert the Constitution. During this period they used to publish a paper for the propagation of their ideas amongst the common people, with the professed object of demanding the *Shar'at* (or Religious Law of Islām, as opposed to any *Qānūn*, or Civil Law), and denouncing as a blasphemous innovation the *Majlis* and the Constitution. Of this paper some 19 numbers appear to have been published, mostly under the name and title of "Objects of those now in sanctuary in the Holy Shrine," but sometimes under that of "Explanation of the pious objects of the Proof of Islām and the Muslims, and the other fugitives in sanctuary at the Holy Shrine," or under the heading of the verse from the *Qur'ān* (viii, 48), "*And obey God and His Apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you; but persevere with patience, for God is with those who persevere.*" Nearly all of the contents of these issues were quoted and refuted in the *Hablū'l-Matn*.

For lack of certainty as to the correct title, this paper is placed under the descriptive title given above.

(187)

**Rūznāma-i-Ilmī** (*The Scientific Gazette*).

روزنامه علمی

A newspaper published in Tihiran in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876-7), concerning which *Zakā'u'l-Mulk* writes: "This paper was founded

by Muḥammad Hasan Khān *Ṣanī' u'd-Dawla*. In all, sixty-four numbers of it were published, the first dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1293 (= Jan. 8, 1877), and the last the 23rd of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1297 (= June 2, 1880).

Not in Rabin, and not seen.

(188)

روزنامه علمیّه دولت علیّه ایران

*Rūznāma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Īrān*

(*Scientific Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia*).

A monthly newspaper lithographed in A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863-4) under the management of 'Alī-qulī Mīrzā *I'tizādu's-Saltāna*, Minister of Sciences, of which the first number was published on Sha'bān 1 of the above year (= Jan. 11, 1864), and the last number on Shawwāl 1, A.H. 1287 (= Dec. 25, 1870). In all, 53 numbers were published. This paper was sometimes spoken of by the abbreviated title of *Rūznāma-i-'Ilmī*, and was published under the same management as the *Rūznāma-i-Millatī* and *Rūznāma-i-Dawlatī*, the combined subscription for all three being 36 *grāns*. It was sometimes issued in three languages, Persian, Arabic and French, and sometimes only in the two last, as in the case of No. 52, which I possess, and which is dated "Tuesday the eleventh of Mihr-māh in the auspicious year 792 of the Jalālī era," or in the concurrent Arabic portion, Rajab 1, A.H. 1287 (= Sept. 27, 1870). The contents of this number consist for the most part of investigations into the nature of a certain form of literary composition used by modern writers and entitled "prose-verse" (*Shī'r-i-manthūr*), or, as the paper puts, "a kind of poetry which in truth one may consider as intermediate between verse and prose." On this subject it puts forward an explanation referring to the invention of this method by Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (d. A.H. 449 = A.D. 1057-8); afterwards by Muẓaffar b. Ibrāhīm, the blind Egyptian (d. A.H. 623 = A.D. 1226); and still later by Khwāja Mas'ūd, known as *'Iṣmāt*, of Bukhārā; and gives some specimens of discourses and anecdotes in this kind of poetry. The Arabic is an exact translation of the Persian portion of the paper, which is indeed a useful and



admirable production. In this same number it refers to previous remarks on the same subject in the last issue of the *Rūznāma-i-Millatī*, where some mention is made of Sayyid 'Alī Mihri of Jabal-'Āmil and of some of his verses of this sort; which indicates that both papers dealt with common topics.

The number of this paper alluded to above comprises one sheet of the size customary in Persia, folded into four pages, of which one is blank. On the top of the first page, under the title *Rūznāma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Irān*, stand the words "No. 52: yearly subscription, in conjunction with the *Rūznāma-i-Dawlatī* and the *Rūznāma-i-Millatī*, 36 grāns. Printed in the Victorious Capital, in the auspicious *Dārū'l-Funūn* College, in the Government Printing-press." There is also an illustration, which appears to represent the *Shamsū'l-'Imāra* and the *Maydān-i-Tūp-i-Marwārid*.

Rahino (No. 114) mentions No. 3 of this paper, dated the 16th of Bahman-māh in the year 783 of the Jalālī era; and No. 4, dated the 9th of Farwardin-māh in the year 786 of the same era. Although nominally the paper was published monthly, yet it is evident that it appeared at irregular intervals. The total number of issues and the dates of the first and last numbers are given on the authority of H.E. Zaki'u'l-Mulk. I possess the above-mentioned No. 52, which comprises 4 pp. (one blank) of 12" x 7½". The Persian portion is lithographed in *ta'liq* and the Arabic in *nasta'liq*.

## (189)

*Rūznāma-i-Millatī* (*The National Journal*).

روزنامه ملیتی

A paper lithographed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1283 (= A.D. 1866-7). At the top of the page it bore the figure of a mosque, a conventional sign of its National character. Mirzā Fath-'Alī Ākhūndoff of Tiflis wrote a long and laughable criticism of this paper, analyzing one of its numbers which had come under his notice, and of which more than half was taken up with an account of the genealogy and circumstances of a poet who bore the *nom de guerre* (*takhalluṣ*) of *Surūsh* and the title of *Shamsu'sh-Shu'arā* ("Sun of the Poets"), and with two of his poems, a *qaṣīda* and a *ghazal*. The criticism in question begins as follows: "On Friday the 14th of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwāl A.H. 1283 (= July 27, 1866) I happened to see in Tiflis a copy of the *Rūznāma-i-Millat-i-Irān* under circumstances which will be mentioned below. First of all I read this sentence; 'It has been ordered



and determined on the Illustrious part of His Imperial Majesty (may God immortalize his Kingdom and Sovereignty!) that the *Rūznāma-i-Millī* shall be written in the freest fashion, so that gentle and simple may share alike in its advantages.' The meaning of this sentence is..." etc.

Zakā'u'l-Mulk writes: "The *Rūznāma-i-Millatī* used to be published, together with the *Rūznāma-i-Dawlatī* and the *Rūznāma-i-Ilmī*, under the superintendence of the late *P'tizādū's-Saltāna*. Its first number was dated Friday, the 14th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1283 (= July 27, 1866), and its last number the 20th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1287 (= Sept. 17, 1870). It was published monthly, and in all 33 numbers appeared. Its contents consisted chiefly of the biographies of eminent poets."

*P'tizādū's-Saltāna* writes: "Another paper was the *Rūznāma-i-Millat-i-Irān* [of which the first number was] dated Wednesday, Muharram 15, A.H. 1283 (= May 30, 1866). This paper appeared while Mirzā Muhammad Khān *Sipahsdlār* was Prime Minister, and was under the management of the Ministry of Sciences."

As may be seen from the above, there exists a certain discrepancy and contradiction as to the date of this paper's first appearance, unless, indeed the *Rūznāma-i-Millat-i-Irān* is a different paper from the *Rūznāma-i-Millatī*, which seems somewhat improbable.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

# (190)

**Rūznāma-i-Millī** (*The National Journal*).

روزنامه ملی

A quarto-sized weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7), the first number of which appeared on Ramazān 1st (= Oct. 19, 1906) of that year. This was the first newspaper published in Tabriz after the Revolution and the Proclamation of the Constitution. Its founder and editor was Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Khān, son of the well-known Sayyid Hāshim of Charandāb, who used at first to sign under the *nom de guerre* of *Surūsh-i-Ghaybī* ("The Angel from the Unseen World"), but who afterwards wrote under his own name when, in the latter part of the same year, the paper changed its title to *Jarida-i-Millī* (see No. 123, *supra*). A little later, namely in the early

part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb.-March, 1907), it again changed its name, and was published under the title of *Anjuman* (see No. 64, *supra*). This paper, and likewise its successors, *i.e.* the *Farida-i-Millî* and the *Anjuman*, were produced under the supervision and at the expense of the *Anjuman-i-Millî*, or National Council, of Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 115. I do not possess a copy.

### (191)

**Rûznâma-i-Nizâmî** (*The Military Newspaper*).

روزنامه نظامی

A paper published in Tih-rân, of which Mirzâ Husayn Khân *Sipahsâlâr* was probably the founder. In any case it was founded before A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879), for, as *Zakâ'u'l-Mulk* states in a letter, its place was taken in that year by the *Mirrikh* (*q.v.*).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

### (192)

**Rûznâma-i-Waqâyi'-i-Ittifaqiyya**  
(*Journal of Current Events*).

روزنامه وقایع اتفاقیه

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tih-rân in A.H. 1267 (= A.D. 1850-1), concerning which something has been already said in the Introduction. This was the first Persian newspaper published in Persia, and was started while Mirzâ Taqî Khân *Amîr-i-Nizâm* was Prime Minister. At first, *i.e.* until the appearance of No. 16, dated Rajab 21, A.H. 1267 (= May 22, 1851), it was published every Friday, but afterwards until the end of its career on Thursdays. The yearly subscription was 24 *grâns*, while a single copy cost 10 *shâhîs*. It was published very regularly and punctually, without any delay, sometimes comprising one sheet of the size usual in Persia (4 pp.), like Nos. 1 to 9; sometimes 6 pp., like Nos. 17, 23, 24 and 25-40; sometimes 8 pp., as was generally the case in its middle and later period, occasionally regularly for some considerable time, though still numbers comprising 4 or 6 pp. would appear occasionally.

This paper continued publication until A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1), after which period it apparently received the title of

*Rūznama-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Īrān* (q.v.). There exists a complete set of this paper in the State Library at Tihṛān, while Nos. 409-456 inclusive are preserved in the British Museum under the class-mark 757.1.12 amongst the Periodical Publications. I myself possess Nos. 7-444.

"The first number of this paper," writes the *I'timādū's-Saḥāna*, "appeared on Friday the 5th of Rabī' ii, A.H. 1267 (= Feb. 7, 1851), and bore only the superscription 'O Victorious Lion of God!' ('*Yā Asadā'llāhī'l-Ghālib*!'), but subsequently it bore the title *Waḡāyī-i-Ittifāqiyya* with the Lion and the Sun."

*Zakā'u'l-Mulk* writes: "Originally, that is in the time of Mirzā Taqī Khān *Atābak*, when the paper was first founded, Hājji Mirzā Jabbār *Tasḳira-chī* and the father of the present *Sa'dū'd-Dawla*, who owned a printing-press, were instrumental in producing and circulating the paper, which was written by a certain Mirzā 'Abdu'llāh. No. 474 of this paper, which I have seen and possess, is dated the 18th of Rabī' ii, A.H. 1277 (= Nov. 3, 1860)."

See Rahino, No. 116, who states that it was published by the Ministry of the Press, that No. 261 was dated the 22nd of Jumāda i, A.H. 1273 (= Jan. 18, 1857), and that it "appears to be the same newspaper which Mirzā Taqī Khān *Amīr-Nāḡidū* founded about A.H. 1263 (= A.D. 1848-9) in the early part of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh." I do not possess an original copy, but have a transcript of No. 8.

## (193)

**Rahbar-i-Īrān-i-Naw** (*The Guide of the New Persia*). رهبر ایران نو

A daily paper printed in Tihṛān in the latter part of A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). It was the successor of the *Īrān-i-Naw*, which, after its suppression, appeared under this name, but only one number was published. See above under No. 77.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

## (194)

**Rahnumā** (*The Guide*).

رهنما

A weekly paper printed in Tihṛān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of 'Abdu'llāh Qājār.

See Rahino, No. 137, who gives the date of inception as the 26th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 6, 1907). I possess Nos. 1, 3, 5-10, 12, 14 and 23, the first dated as above; the last the 21st of Rabī' i, A.H. 1326 (= April 23, 1908). Each

number comprises 8 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$ , with a large coloured title (the colour varying in each number) illustrating the idea of Progress with a railway-train, a steamer, a lighthouse and factories. Yearly subscription, 15 *grins* in Tihrán, 20 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, and 25 *grins* abroad.

## (195)

**Zarârit Bahrá** (*The Ray of Light*).

زادیت بهار

A religious paper published in the Chaldaean (Syriac) tongue by the Protestants in Urmia. It is under American direction.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (196)

**Zâng** (*The Bell*).

زنگ

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) in the Armenian language. This paper was the organ of the Armenian Hanchâkists.

See Rabino, No. 233. Not seen by the translator.

## (197)

**Zâyanda-rûd.**

زاینده رود

An illustrated weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahân in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the *Mutnu'l-Islâm* of Khwânsâr. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 118. I possess Nos. 10, 37 and 39 of the Second Year, and Nos. 3, 7, 9 and 12 of the Third Year, the first dated the 19th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1328 (= March 31, 1910), and the last the 27th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1329 (= April 27, 1911). All these numbers are printed except the first, which is lithographed, and a rather rude lithographed caricature or cartoon occupies the last page of each printed number. Each number comprises 8 pp. of  $12'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$ . Yearly subscription, in Isfahân 16 *grins*, elsewhere in Persia and abroad, 24 *grins*.

## (198)

**Zabân-i-Millat** (*The Tongue of the Nation*).

زبان ملت

A paper printed in Tihrán twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

See Rabino, No. 119. I possess No. 3, which is dated the 28th of Ramazân, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 4, 1907), and comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 15 *grins* in Tihrán, 18 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, and 12 francs abroad.



(199)

**Zisht u Zibā** (*Foul and Fair*).

زشت و زیبا

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of *Fathu'l-Mamālik*.

See Rabino, No. 120, where the date of inception is given as the 2nd of Jumāda II, A.H. 1325 (= July 13, 1907). I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Each comprises 8 pp. of 12" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 30 *grins* in Tīhrān, and the same plus postage elsewhere in Persia.

(200)

**Zamān-i-Wiṣāl** (*The Time of Union*).

زمان وصال

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mirzā 'Alī Asghar of Shīrāz entitled *Nāzirū'sh-Shu'arā*.

See Rabino, No. 121, who states that only eight numbers appeared, the first on the 19th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1329 (= May 18, 1911), and the last on the 22nd of Rajab (= July 19) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8. Each comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 10 *grins*.

(201)

**Sāhil-i-Najāt** (*The Shore of Safety*).

ساحل نجات

A paper printed in Anzālī twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of *Afṣahu'l-Mutakallimīn*, the editor of the *Khayru'l-Kalām* (q.v.).

See Rabino, No. 122, who states that only eight numbers were published, the first on the 26th of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 4, 1907). I possess Nos. 1-8, but No. 1 is dated not as above but the 7th of Sha'bān (= Sept. 22) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 7". Yearly subscription, 18 *grins* in Gilān, 20 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 14 francs in Europe.

(202)

**Sāhil-i-Najāt** (*The Shore of Safety*).

ساحل نجات

A daily paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of *Afṣahu'l-Mutakallimīn*.

See Rabino, No. 122. I possess Nos. 8-13, the former dated the last day of Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 3, 1910). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 7". Yearly subscription, 25 *grins* in Rasht, 30 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia.

## (203)

**Sirāju'l-Akhhbār** (*The Lamp of News*).

سراج الأخبار

A fortnightly paper lithographed in the *nast'aliq* hand in Kābul (Afghānistān) in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). Its editor and chief writer was Mahmūd Tarzī, and it was under the supervision of 'Alī Aḥmad the Chief Chamberlain (*Ishik-āghāsi*) of His Majesty the Amīr. The first number was dated the 3th of Shawwāl (= Oct. 10) of the above year.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (204)

**Surūsh.**

سروش

A paper published in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Given on the authority of Rabino.

See Rabino, Nos. 123 and 124, where mention is made of the Constantinople and Tīhrān papers of this name, but no mention of such a paper at Rasht.

## (205)

**Surūsh.**

سروش

A weekly newspaper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909-1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Muḥammad Tawfiq. It was founded during the time of the Persian Revolution or the "Lesser Autocracy" (June, 1908-July, 1909) by the *Anjuman-i-Sa'adat-i-Irāniyān*, and received contributions from the pens of Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Khān (formerly a regular contributor to the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*, q.v.), Aḥmad Bey Aghayeff, and Hājji Mīrzā Yahyā of Dawlatābād.

See Rabino, No. 123, who erroneously describes it as lithographed. According to him it first appeared on the 12th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1327 (= July 1, 1909).

## (206)

**Surūsh.**

سروش

A paper printed in Tīhrān in the latter part of A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of 'Azudu'l-Islām of Lāhijān. It was written by Mīrzā 'Isā Khān (the Sardār-i-Manšūr's man) of Rasht, who signed under the letter 'ayn (ع), and enjoyed the

support of the Sardār-i-Manšūr and his followers. In politics it was Moderate.

See Rabino, No. 124, according to whom it first appeared on the 13rd of Dhul-Qa'da, A.H. 1318 (= Nov. 26, 1910).

## (207)

**Sa'ādat** (*Felicity*).

سعادت

A weekly paper printed (*not* lithographed) in Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907)—not 1326—under the editorship of Muḥammad Taqī Nirāqī.

See Rabino, No. 126. I possess Nos. 43, 46 and 47. Each comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ . Yearly subscription, 10 *grāns* in Hamadān, 15 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus. No. 43 is dated the 10th of Safar, A.H. 1326 [= March 14, 1908].

## (208)

**Sa'ādat** (*Felicity*).

سعادت

A fortnightly paper printed (*not* lithographed) in Tabriz in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The first number was dated the 23rd of Rabi' ii (= April 23) of that year. It was edited by Sa'id-zāda, the Superintendent of the Madrasa-i-Sa'ādat, and founded by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, the Director of the above-mentioned College. Its contents were purely academical and literary.

See Rabino, No. 125. I possess No. 4, dated the 8th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1329 (= June 6, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 5 *grāns* in Tabriz, 10 abroad.

## (209)

**Saffna-i-Najāt** (*The Ark of Deliverance*).

سفینه نجات

A weekly paper first "jelly-graphed" and then lithographed at Yazd in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Muḥammad Šādiq.

See Rabino, No. 127, according to whom the paper was first issued on the 22nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (= Nov. 28, 1907). He adds that on the arrival of the Bakhtiārī chief Sardār-i-Jang as governor at Yazd this paper was suppressed, on account of the publication of a caricature of the Sardār, and his Deputy Mudirū'd-Dawla, and his Treasurer Mushirū'l-Mamālik. The latter was represented in the form of a dog, while a dog's tail was visible under the Mudirū'd-Dawla's coat, and both of them were urging the Sardār to take money from the people. As it was supposed that this caricature had been produced by lithography on the gelatine process in the workshops of the *Saffna-i-Najāt*, the paper was suppressed. I possess Nos. 3, 6, 16, 20 and 21.

of the First Year, and No. 10 of the Second Year. The first is dated the 22nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (as stated above by Rahino), and the last the 22nd of Dhū'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 25, 1910). Of the six numbers which I possess, the first three are "jelly-graphed" and the last three lithographed. Each contains 4 pp. of  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ " (later enlarged to  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ " ), and is written in a large, clear *nasta'liq* hand. Yearly subscription, 20 *qurans* in Yazd, 25 *qurans* elsewhere in Persia, and 30 *qurans* abroad.

## (210)

**Sikandar** (*Alexander*).

سکندر

A weekly newspaper published every Sunday in Calcutta in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Mentioned in Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, No. 1829, but not by Rahino. Zenker gives the title in Roman characters only. Not seen.

## (211)

**Salām 'alaykum!** (*Peace be upon you!*).

سلام علیکم

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

## (212)

**Salsabil.**

سلسبیل

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

See Rahino, No. 128, on whose authority the paper is given.

## (213)

**Sultānu'l-Akbar** (*The Greatest King*).

سلطان الاکبر (؟ الاخبار)

A weekly newspaper published every Sunday in Calcutta in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Mentioned in Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, No. 1830, but not in Rahino, and not otherwise known. It appears probable that there may be a mistake in the name of this paper, and that Zenker never saw it, but only its title written in Roman characters, in which what was probably its real title *Sultānu'l-Akhhār* ("The King of News") might easily be corrupted into the obviously incorrect title *Sultānu'l-Akbar*.

## (214)

**Sayyidu'l-Akhhār** (*The Lord of News*).

سید الاخبار

A large-sized weekly newspaper lithographed at Haydarābād in the Deccan in A.H. 1306 (= A.D. 1888-9) under the editorship of Āqā Sayyid Āqā Shirāzī. It was published regularly on



Saturdays, and comprised eight large-sized pages. Amongst the Periodical Publications in the British Museum, under the class-mark 757. m. 1, are preserved 35 numbers of this paper, of which No. 1 is dated the 4th of Rab' ii, A.H. 1306 (= Dec. 8, 1888), and No. 35 the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1306 (= August 2, 1889). At the top of each title-page stands the Lion and the Sun, beneath which are placed some Arabic and Persian verses in praise of the newspaper, of knowledge, etc., which verses are textually repeated in each number. Beneath these in turn the name of the newspaper is contained and inscribed in the following hemistich:

جَيْدِ اَخْبَارِ عَالَمِ سَيِّدِ الْاَخْبَارِ شَدِّ

(The *Sayyidu'l-Akhhbār* is the best newspaper in the world.)

This paper (like the present day papers in Persia) was very instructive, containing full information, foreign news and telegraphic despatches. It translated from the English papers important political articles about Persia and Russia, and generally wrote against Russia and its designs in Persia. Some of its numbers contain particulars as to the third and last journey of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh in Europe, which corresponded in time with those issues. In No. 35 there appears an announcement concerning the reduction in size of the newspaper in the forthcoming number.

One rather comic incident is that in the later numbers the editor complains much about the non-payment of subscriptions, and in one of them he writes in praise of Tabriz, its leading men, and the progress of science and education there. Finally, after giving a most brilliant and glowing account of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān *Mustashārū'd-Dawla* of Tabriz, he observes that the above-mentioned personage has been "graciously pleased" to remit the full amount of his subscription to the newspaper. In the first number he complains very much of obtaining permission in Haydarābād to publish the paper, and describes the editor's protracted wanderings in pursuit of this object. At the end of each copy is the signature "Sayyid Āqā-yi-Shirāzī, owner and editor of the paper."

In some numbers he reproduces matter from the newspaper *Farhang* published at Isfahán, while in the tenth number he publishes an attack on and refutation of the Persian paper *Ázád* (apparently published in Delhi), which, in the fourth number of the fifth volume, published on Friday, Feb. 1, 1889, attacks and reviles the higher circles of Haydarábád in the Deccan, and the newspapers of that place, which do not enjoy freedom. From this it appears that a paper named *Ázád*, otherwise unknown to us, was published in India in A.D. 1885 (= A.H. 1302-3).

I possess No. 34 of the second volume, dated Ramazán 12, A.H. 1307 (= May 11, 1890). It comprises 12 pp. of 12" x 7½", and is lithographed in a fairly good *ta'liq*.

### (215)

**Sháhseven** (*The King-lover* :—name of well-known tribe). شاهسون

A "jelly-graphed" paper produced in Constantinople about A.H. 1306 (= A.D. 1888-9) or perhaps a little earlier, which vehemently criticized in a comical and sarcastic vein the autocratic Government of Persia. The production and publication of this paper was attributed to Hájjí Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím Táliboff and some of his associates, who were aided in its publication by Sayyid Muḥammad Shabistari Abu'z-Ziyá, afterwards editor of the *Irán-i-Naw*, who was at that time in Constantinople and shared in this enterprise; indeed it appears to have been reproduced from his handwriting. It was published secretly, and the issue was limited to 300 copies, which were placed in envelopes like letters and sent with various precautions to statesmen, theologians, merchants and others in Persia. Often, in order to conceal the place of publication, they were first sent to Paris, London, etc. to be forwarded thence to Persia. At the top of one copy which I possess stands the inscription, "Published once in forty years." In the portion devoted to "telegraphic news" occurs the following passage:

"The British Consul at Hamadán has sent an official communication to the Government in which he complains that there is a public bath in the neighbourhood of the Consulate, and that the Consulate is sorely troubled by the filth thereof, and by the

infection which emanates from it, by reason of which two of its employes have died; and requesting that the Government will either close the bath, or provide a more suitable place for the Consulate."

Another runs as follows:

"Our correspondent of the Foreign Telegraphic Agency in Tihrán observed a great activity, accompanied by much haste and bustle, in the principal avenues, where most of the notables, ministers and leading personages of the kingdom, mounted in their carriages, were rapidly driving one after another in a particular direction. Before he had succeeded in ascertaining the true state of the case, he telegraphed to London stating that on that day a serious political crisis had arisen in Tihrán, and that an important movement was visible in official circles. After having despatched this telegram, he applied himself to the investigation of this matter and its real nature, and after a while was compelled, with the utmost shame, to send another telegram contradicting his first conjecture, and stating that it now appeared that all these gentlemen were merely going to attend a commemorative religious function (*majlis-i-raṭwa-khudut*) given by one of the great ecclesiastics (*mujtahidn*) of Tihrán."

There are many telegrams of this sort, whereof the above (of which only the substance, not the exact phraseology, is given) will suffice to serve as a sample.

I have only seen one copy of this paper.

## (216)

**Shāhinshāhī** (*The Imperial*).

شاهشاهی

A weekly illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khān, entitled *Malikū'l-Mu'arrikhīn* ("The King of Historians").

See Rabino, No. 134, who gives the date of inception as the 9th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1323 (= Nov. 7, 1905). I possess Nos. 18, 21, 26, 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47. The first is dated the 13th of Rabi' I, A.H. 1324 (= May 7, 1906), and the last the 13th of Muharram, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 26, 1907). Each number has on p. 1 the portrait of some notable Persian or foreign statesman, and comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 20 *girdus*. Similar in form and character to the *Shari'f* and *Sādrifāt*. (See *infra*.)



(217)

**Shab-nâma** (*Nocturnal*).

شب نامه

A publication which appeared in Tabriz about A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892-3) and circulated for some time, but not in any regular or journalistic fashion, but only amongst a number of those who were inspired by the new ideas in a very secret manner. These publications were sarcastic and very amusing, and were written by 'Alf-qulî Khân, editor of the *Ihtiyāj* and the *Āzarbayjân* (q.v.), who was at that time known as Āqā-qulî. The name *Shab-nâma* was, however, subsequently applied in a general way to all secret "jelly-graphed" publications. One or two specimens may be given of the contents of the *Shab-nâmas*, though it is difficult to give the preference to one over another. Concerning the deplorable condition of bread and the detestable confusion of the bread-market it wrote:

"Yesterday I sent the servant to get a loaf of bread for luncheon from the bazaar. He went early in the morning, and returned three hours after dusk, his clothes torn to rags, his face scratched, and his body wounded and bruised, bringing one cake of 'pebble bread' (*nân-i-sangak*), on which, by reason of our extreme hunger, we incontinently fell and tore it in pieces. Out of it fell the objects enumerated below: one night-shirt; one ewer and basin; one head of...; one bundle of...; one..., etc."

Concerning the mud in the streets he writes:

"A string of camels sunk in the mud in the main street in front of the Royal Gynaecium, and disappeared from sight. They afterwards reappeared in the bed of the Ājî River (distant about one parasang)." And so on.

Not in Rabino. I possess one *Shab-nâma* of Nov. 1906, written in Turkish. It consists of a single sheet of 14" x 8½", "jelly-graphed" in violet ink. A caricature occupies the upper half of the page, and below it are thirteen lines of letter-press. There is no date, title, or indication of author or place of publication.

(218)

**Shajara-i-khabîtha-i-Kufr:** شجره خبیثه کفر شجره طیبه ایمان  
**Shajara-i-tayyiba-i-Imân**

(*The foul Tree of Infidelity: the good Tree of Faith*).

A lithographed publication which appeared in Tihwân in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.







Portrait of Mirzá 'Alī Asghar Khān  
*Amīn-ū-Sultān* by *Muḥammad 'Alī Mulk*

From No. 31 of the illustrated monthly *Shardfat* of Oct.-Nov. 1900

(219)

**Sharāfat** (*Nobility*).

شرافت

A monthly illustrated paper lithographed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1314 (= A.D. 1896-7) under the management of the Ministry of the Press. It was a continuation of the newspaper *Sharaf* (see *supra*), and was founded by Muhammad Bāqir Khān, the present *ʿItimādī*'s-*Saltāna*, early in the reign of Muzaffarū'd-Dīn Shāh.

See Rabino, No. 129, who says that No. 3 was issued in Rabi' II, A.H. 1314 (= August-Sept. 1896). I possess No. 31, dated Rajab, A.H. 1318 (= Oct.-Nov. 1900). It comprises 4 pp. of 13" x 7½", and the front page is adorned with a portrait of the *Atāluq-i-A'zam* (*Amīn-i-Saltāna*). Yearly subscription, 12 *grains*.

(220)

**Sharāfat** (*Nobility*).

شرافت

A monthly paper lithographed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Āqā Sayyid Husayn, Director of the *Sharāfat* Library. This paper has a special importance inasmuch as it was written in very popular language, in the idiom of the Tīhrān "Mashhadis" (common people), and was sold at a very low price, so that it had a considerable influence on the humbler classes. It was instructive as regards subject-matter, and strongly supported the fullest form of Constitutional Government.

See Rabino, No. 130, who describes this paper as bi-weekly, and gives the date of No. 1 as the 4th of Safar, A.H. 1326 (= March 8, 1908). I possess Nos. 8, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 26. Each number comprises 4 pp. (with continuous pagination throughout the "set," or *dawra*, of 40 numbers) of 13½" x 6½". Subscription for the "set" of 40 numbers, 3 *grains* in Tīhrān, 2 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 6 *grains* abroad.

(221)

**Sharaf** (*Honour*).

شراف

A monthly illustrated paper lithographed in Tīhrān, of which the first issue was published on the first of Muharram, A.H. 1300 (= Nov. 12, 1882). This paper and its successor the *Sharāfat* (see *supra*, No. 219) used to publish portraits of nobles and statesmen, accompanied by explanatory and biographical matter, and enjoyed a certain distinction and value by reason of the excellence of these portraits, which were executed by *Kamālū'l-Mulk*, the well-known Persian artist. Muhammad Hasan Khān

*I'timaddi's-Saltana* founded this paper, of which in all 78 numbers were published.

See *Rahino*, No. 131, according to whom this paper lasted until A.H. 1309 (= A.D. 1891) and published in all 87 numbers. I do not possess a copy.

## (222)

**Sharaf** (*Honour*).

شرف

A weekly paper printed (not lithographed) in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Ghulám Husayn of Tihrán.

See *Rahino*, No. 132. I possess No. 1, which is dated the 17th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 19, 1908). It comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 7". Yearly subscription, 3 *grans* in Tihrán, 6 *grans* elsewhere in Persia, and 5 francs abroad.

## (223)

**Sharq** (*The East*).

شرق

A daily paper of large *format* printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Ziyá'u'd-Dín Ṭabáṭabá'ī (son of Sayyid 'Alī of Yazd), who was also editor of the *Nidā-yi-Islām* ("Call of Islām") and *Barq* ("Lightning," *q.v.*). This newspaper, in consequence of its violent and revolutionary attacks on those at the head of affairs, was several times suspended, and finally changed its name and came out under the title of *Barq*. Many numbers of this paper contained one page in French. Under the title of "literary contributions" (*adabiyāt*) there appeared in this newspaper poems, criticizing in a metaphorical manner the doings of the Government, which, in point of literary value, were both important and beautiful, and, by reason of their natural simplicity and approximation in style to the colloquial language, were as distinguished in merit as they were plain in language, and, alike by virtue of their novelty and their originality, are worthy to be taken as models and exemplars. The writer of these verses was a poet of Kirmānshāh. In politics this newspaper originally represented the views of the Party of Union and Progress, but afterwards became Revolutionary.

See *Rahino*, No. 123. I possess a fairly complete set, including No. 1, which is dated the 14th of Ramazān, A.H. 1327 (= Sept. 30, 1909). Each number comprises



4 pp. of  $21\frac{1}{2}'' \times 14\frac{1}{2}''$ , and the French supplement first appears in No. 91 (June 18, 1910). Yearly subscription, 45 *grains* in Tihān, 50 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 56 *grains* abroad.

## (224)

**Shafaq** (*The Afterglow*).

شفق

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910). Its owner and editor was Mīrzā Hājji Āqā Rīzā-zāda; the editorship was subsequently transferred in name to Mīrzā Maḥmūd Ghānī-zāda of Salmās, editor of the *Faryād, Bū Qalamān*, etc. This paper was remarkable for its boldness and violent writing, and especially in consequence of its patriotic articles became the object of vehement hatred on the part of the Russians, so that on the occasion of their aggressions in Muḥar-rām, A.H. 1330 (= January, 1912), they arrested and hanged one of its contributors, Mīrzā Aḥmad, known as "Suhaylī," and suppressed the paper. It published some poetical fragments in the new style, rhymed in the European fashion. In politics it was Democrat.

See *Rahino*, No. 136, according to whom it was first issued on Ramaẓān 27, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 3, 1910). I possess a good many copies, including Nos. 1 and 22 of the First Year, and Nos. 1-40 (with some gaps) of the Second Year, the last dated the 18th of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1329 (= Dec. 21, 1911). Each number contains 4 pp. of  $15\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9''$ . Yearly subscription, 7 *grains* in Tabriz, 10 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 14 *grains* abroad.

## (225)

**Shafaq** (*The Afterglow*).

شفق

A "jelly-graphed" paper published in Khūy.

See *Rahino*, No. 137, on whose authority it is included here.

## (226)

**Shakar** (*Sugar*).

شکر

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Muḥammad 'Alī 'Abdu'l-Manāf-zāda.

See *Rahino*, No. 135. I possess a copy of No. 3, which is dated the 17th of Rabī' 1, A.H. 1325 (= April 30, 1907). It comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$ , and is written in Āzərbayānī Turkish, and lithographed in a poor but legible *ta'liq*. Yearly subscription, 5 *grains* in Tabriz, 7 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 7 roubles in Russia.

## (227)

**Shams** (*The Sun*).

شمس

A weekly illustrated paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Tawfiq of Basra, and owned by Sayyid Hasan of Tabriz. In politics it is Moderate.

See Rabino, No. 138. I possess a fairly complete set from the beginning. No. 1 is dated the 8th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1326 (= Sept. 2, 1908), and the paper is still appearing. Each number contains 8 pp. of 9" x 6½", but since the end of the Second Year the size of the paper has been considerably enlarged. Yearly subscription, 60 piastres in Constantinople, 75 piastres elsewhere in Turkey, 32 *rodms* in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia, and 17 francs in Europe.

## (228)

**Shams-i-Tāli'** (*The Rising Sun*).

شمس طالع

A paper printed in Tihhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

See Rabino, No. 139. I do not possess a copy.

## (229)

**Shūrā-yi-Īrān** (*The Council of Persia*).

شورای ایران

A weekly paper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908). It was founded and published by the *Anjuman-i-Mash-warat* ("Society of Council"), and was jointly written by those three martyred patriots Mīrzā Sa'īd of Salmās, Āqā Sayyid Hasan Sharīf-zāda, and Hājji 'Alī *Dawūd-furūsh* ("The Druggist"). Its politics were Conservative and Moderate Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 140, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 19th of Rabī' ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 21, 1908). I do not possess a copy.

## (230)

**Shūrā-yi-Baladī** (*The Municipal Council*).

شورای بلدیی

A weekly paper published in Tihhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (231)

**Chawik** (*The Little Path*).

چاوک

An illustrated paper in the Armenian language lithographed in Tihhrān in A.D. 1911 (= A.H. 1310-11).

See Rabino, No. 234. Not seen by the translator.







(232)

**Shaykh Chughundar** (*The Reverend Beetroot*).

شیخ چغندر

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911), of which the first number was dated the 14th of Shawwāl of that year (= Oct. 8, 1911). Its proprietor, Mīr Fath 'Alī, and its editor, Abū'l-Ma'ālī, known as Sayyid-i Āhan-bardār ("The Iron-lifter"), were both reactionaries, but the paper was connected with the Party of Agreement and Progress (*Ittifaq u taragqf*).

See Rabino, No. 241. I possess a copy of No. 3, dated the 18th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (= Oct. 22, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. (pp. 2 and 3 containing caricatures) of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ , lithographed in *ta'tiq*. Yearly subscription, 12 *grāns* in Tihrán, 20 *grāns* in other parts of Persia, 30 *grāns* abroad.

(233)

**Shaydā** (*Madcap*).

شیدا

A serio-comic illustrated fortnightly paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Muḥammad Ziyā'u'd-Dīn. It was founded by a committee of Persian students. Its proprietor and writer was Hājji Hasan Khān Ja'far-zāda, its managing editor Muzaffar Khān Isma'il-zāda, and its artist-illustrator Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khān Tāhir-zāda. Not more than four or five numbers of it were issued. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino. I possess Nos. 1-5, the first dated the 29th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (= Oct. 23, 1911), and the last the 2nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 1330 (= Dec. 23, 1911), with a supplementary sheet dated the following day. Each number comprises 4 pp., and, as a rule, two caricatures (on pp. 1 and 4), of  $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$ . Yearly subscription, 15 *grāns* in Persia, 30 piastres in Constantinople.

(234)

**Shīrāz.**

شیراز

A paper published in Shīrāz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

See Rabino, No. 141. I do not possess a copy.

## (235)

**Subh-i-Sādiq** (*The True Dawn*).

صبح صادق

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in the early part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb.-March, 1907) under the editorship of Murtaẓā-qulī Khān *Mu'ayyidul-Mamālik*, editor of the *Pulīs-i-Irān* (q.v.).

See Rabino, No. 147, according to whom the paper first appeared in Safar (March-April) of that year, and was subsequently edited by Mahdī-qulī Khān *Mu'ayyid-i-Dawla*. I possess 16 copies, ranging from No. 32 (May 12, 1907) to No. 149 (Oct. 8, 1907). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 45 *ordus*.

## (236)

**Subh-nāma** (*Morning Letter*).

صبحنامه

A weekly "jelly-graphed" paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) before the proclamation of the Constitution and for a short time after it. Its editor and writer was Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Rizā of Shīrāz, editor of the *Musāwāt* ("Equality"). This paper was circulated secretly, and not more than seventeen or eighteen numbers were published. It opposed the autocracy, and was revolutionary in politics.

See Rabino, No. 143. I do not possess a copy.

## (237)

**Subhat** (*Conversation*).

صحبت

A paper in the Āzarbāyjānī Turkish dialect lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), under the editorship of Mīrzā Husayn Khān, editor of the papers *al-Hadīd*, *ʿAddlat* and *Khabar*. In consequence of having published in No. 4, by way of a joke, an article in Turkish entitled *Kej Qāburqā* ("The Crooked Rib") on the evils of the veiling of women and the necessity of improving their condition, it drew upon itself the violent hostility of the clergy and common people, as a result of which the paper was suspended and the editor arrested and imprisoned after judgement had been given against him.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (238)

**Siḥhat** (*Health*).

صحت

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(239)

**Şadâ-yi-Rasht** (*The Rasht Echo*).

صدای رشت

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week early in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of 'Ayn Aḥmad-zāda, Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 144. The paper first appeared on the 15th (not the 19th as Rabino states) of Muḥarram (= Jan. 16, 1911) of that year. I possess Nos. 1-16. Each contains 4 pp. of 15" x 10½". Yearly subscription, 25 grāns in Rasht, 30 grāns elsewhere in Persia, 35 grāns abroad.

(240)

**Şadâqat** (*Fidelity*).

صداقت

A paper lithographed in Tihṛān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(241)

**Şirāṭu's-Şanāyi** (*The Way of Arts*).

صراط الصنائع

A paper published in Tihṛān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(242)

**Şirāṭu'l-Mustaḳīm** (*The Straight Way*).

صراط المستقيم

A paper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(243)

**Şirāṭu'l-Mustaḳīm** (*The Straight Way*).

صراط المستقيم

A paper published in Tihṛān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(244)

**Şūr-i-Isrāfīl** (*The Trumpet-call of Isrāfīl*).

صور اسرافیل

A weekly paper printed in Tihṛān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Its proprietor and editor was Mīrzā Jahāngīr Khān of Shīrāz; the second editor and publisher was Mīrzā Qāsim Khān of Tabriz; while its chief contributor was Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Khān

of Qazwin, known as *Dihkhudā* or *Dakhaw*. It is reckoned one of the best of the Persian papers, old and new, and in particular the comic or satirical portion, entitled *Charand Parand* ("Chari-vari"), is the best specimen of literary satire in Persian. It became the special object of hostility on the part of the Reactionaries, and its editor Mirzā Jahāngir Khān, who was captured on the occasion of the bombardment of the *Majlis* (June 23, 1908), was put to death by strangling by order of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh. One of the most important incidents in the history of this paper was its controversy with the clergy and its critical remarks on the decline of the Islamic nations through the Doctors of Divinity, which appeared in No. 4, and gave rise to a great outcry amongst the *Mullās* and common people, and led to the suppression of the paper for about two months. In No. 7 there appeared a defence proving its innocence, which is also worthy of attention. The literary style of this paper was modelled, so far as the serious portion was concerned, on the style of Mirzā Malkom Khān, and greatly resembled his writings, while the comic or satirical portion was inspired by the Turkish *Mullā Naṣrū'd-Dīn*, published at Tiflis. In politics the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl* was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist.

See *Rahino*, No. 145, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 17th of Rabi' II, A.H. 1325 (= May 30, 1907), and was brought to an end on the 10th of Jamādā I, A.H. 1326 (= June 20, 1908), three days before the bombardment of the *Majlis*, and four days before the editor, Mirzā Jahāngir Khān, was put to death by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh. I possess an almost complete set. Each number comprises 8 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Vearly subscription, 12 *grāns* in Tihān, 17 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia, and 20 *grāns* abroad.

## (245)

*Šūr-i-Isrāfīl* (*The Trumpet-call of Isrāfīl*).

سور اسرافیل

A weekly paper printed at Yverdon in Switzerland in the beginning of A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Khān *Dihkhudā*, formerly on the staff of the Tihān *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl*. Not more than four numbers of this Swiss edition were published, and the paper did not possess its former eloquence and sweetness.

See *Rahino*, No. 145. No. 1 was dated the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 1327 (= Jan. 25, 1909), and No. 3 the 12th of Šafar (= March 8) of the same year. I possess





Title of the *Sūr-i-Isrāfil*, or "Trumpet of Isrāfil" (the Angel of the Resurrection), with portrait of its editor, Mirzā Jahāngir Khān of Shirāz, who was put to death on June 24, 1908



Nos. 1-3, which in size and appearance closely resemble the old Tihrán issue, save in the larger type used for the headings of articles. Yearly subscription, 15 francs in Tabriz, 30 francs elsewhere in Persia, and 25 francs abroad.

## (246)

**Tarīqatu'l-Falāh** (*The Way of Happiness*).

طريقه الفلاح

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (247)

**Tulū'** (*The Dawn*).

طلوع

A comic illustrated paper lithographed in Bushire in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1) under the editorship of 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Khān *Matīnū's-Saltāna*, afterwards a Member of the Second *Majlis*.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (248)

**Tūs.**

توس

A bi-weekly paper printed in Mashhad in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mīrzā Hāshim Khān. The publication of the first number corresponded with the day on which the Second *Majlis* was opened in Tihrán.

See Rabino, No. 146, according to whom the paper began on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 14, 1909), and ended on the 15th of Sha'hān, A.H. 1328 (= August 22, 1910), 57 numbers being published in all. I possess Nos. 2, 8, 18, 19, 31 and 34. The first two are of a smaller size ( $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ "), the later numbers are larger ( $16 \times 11$ "). Yearly subscription, 30 *grains* in Mashhad, 35 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, and 7 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus.

## (249)

**Tihrán.**

تهران

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Hājji Mīrzā Hasan of Tabriz, known as *Rushdiyya*.

See Rabino, No. 147, according to whom the paper began on the 7th of Rabi' I, A.H. 1326 (= April 4, 1908), and appeared twice a week. I possess Nos. 2 and 4. Each contains 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Tihrán, 17 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles abroad.

(250)

**Tabrāt** (*Admonition*).

عبرت

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(251)

**Adālat** (*Justice*).

عدالت

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mīrzā Maḥmūd Khān known as *Hakkāk-bāshī* ("The Seal-engraver"), and afterwards of Mīrzā Sayyid Husayn Khān, editor of the newspapers *al-Ḥadīd*, *Shūbat* and *Khābar* (q.v.). This paper succeeded *al-Ḥadīd*, and both of them were founded by the above-mentioned Mīrzā Sayyid Husayn Khān.

See Rabino, No. 148, according to whom it reached the Third Year of publication. I possess a good many numbers, ranging from No. 15 of the First Year (dated the 11th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1324=Sept. 30, 1906) to No. 4 of the Third Year, dated Jumādā 1, A.H. 1325 (=June-July, 1907). Each number contains 8 pp. of 12" x 6½", lithographed in fair *ta'liq*, but a few numbers are in *naskh*. Only the later numbers contain illustrations of celebrated men like Mirabean, Ciroco, etc. Yearly subscription, 22 *grāns* in Tabriz, 26 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 13 francs elsewhere.

(252)

**Adl-i-Muḥaḥḥar** (*The Justice of Muḥaḥḥar*).

عدل مظفر

A weekly paper "jelly-graphed" (afterwards printed) in Hamadān in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Dr Ḥasan Khān Ṭabīb 'Alī. It was established at the instigation and maintained by the support of *Zakirū'd-Dawla*, who was at that time Governor. After some twenty numbers had been published, the paper changed its name to *Ekbātān* (Ecbatana). See No. 59 *supra*.

See Rabino, No. 242. Not in my possession.

(253)

**Irāq-i-'Ajam.**

عراق عجم

A weekly paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā Šādiq Khān *Adībū'l-Mamālik*.



sub-editor of the newspaper *Adab*. It was published on the part and at the charges of the political club called 'Irāq-i-'Ajam in Tīhrān.

See Rahīno, No. 149. I possess Nos. 3, 6, 8, 16-19, and 22, the first dated the 3rd of Jumāda I, A.H. 1325 (= June 14, 1907), and the last the 11th of Dhu'l-Hijja of the same year (= Jan. 16, 1908). Each number contains 4 or 8 pp. of 11" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *qrāns* in Tīhrān, 17 *qrāns* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, 10 francs in Europe.

(254)

'*Urwatu'l-Wuthqā* (*The Firm Hand-hold*).

عروة الوثقى

A weekly newspaper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

See Rahīno, No. 150, who gives no further particulars. I do not possess the paper.

(255)

'*Asr* (*The Age*).

عصر

A weekly paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), owned and written by Mīrzā Āqā of Isfahān, known as *Mujāhid*, and edited by Hājji Shaykh Hasan of Tabriz, formerly editor of the *Khildfat* (*q.v.*). In politics this paper was Moderate.

See Rahīno, No. 151. I possess Nos. 3-31 of this paper, the first dated the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (= Dec. 20, 1910), and the last the 3rd of Sha'bān, A.H. 1329 (= July 30, 1911). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 14½" x 8½". Yearly subscription, 10 *qrāns* in Tīhrān, 12 *qrāns* elsewhere in Persia, 8 francs abroad.

(256)

'*Asr-i-Jadīd* (*The New Age*).

عصر جدید

A bi-weekly paper lithographed in Mashhad early in A.H. 1328 (= Jan. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan-i-Mūsawī.

See Rahīno, No. 152. I possess Nos. 3, 4, and 18, the first dated the 23rd of Rabi' I, A.H. 1328 (= April 4, 1910), and the last the 16th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 19, 1910). Each number contains 4 or 8 pp. of 13" x 7", lithographed in a large *nastāh* hand. Yearly subscription, 16 *qrāns* in Mashhad, 20 *qrāns* elsewhere in Persia, and 25 *qrāns* abroad.

(257)

'*Ilm-āmūz* (*The Teacher of Knowledge*).

علم آموز

A paper published in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rahīno, and not seen.

(258)

**Ghayrat** (*Zeal*).

غیرت

A "jelly-graphed" newspaper secretly published in Tihrán in A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901-2) by a secret society, and chiefly directed against the *Aminu's-Sultán*. Something has been said about it in the Introduction (p. 21 *supra*).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(259)

**Fárs.**

فارس

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Shiráz in A.H. 1289 (= A.D. 1872-3), edited and written by Mírzá Taqí Khán of Káshán, editor of the *Farhang* (mention of which has been already made on p. 12 of the Introduction), and Chief Physician (*Hakím-bāshí*) of the *Zillu's-Sultán*. The first number of this paper appeared on Sunday, the 9th of Shahriwar, in the year 794 of the Jalálí era, corresponding to the 25th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1289 (= August 30, 1872), and coincided with the first arrival of the *Zillu's-Sultán* at Shiráz on the occasion of his third appointment as Governor of Fárs. The first 19 numbers of this paper are preserved in the British Museum amongst the periodical publications, under the class-mark M. 2.757. These I have seen, but they are erroneously entered in the Catalogue as published at Isfahán.

This paper as originally issued comprised eight pages, four in Persian and four in Arabic, the latter being an exact translation of the former. Only the first three numbers, however, appeared in this form, the Arabic part being discontinued from No. 4 onwards, an announcement in that issue declaring it to be unnecessary. No. 19 is dated the 23rd of Day-máh in the year 794 of the Jalálí era, corresponding to the 6th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1289 (= Jan. 5, 1873), so that the paper seems to have appeared regularly every week. Its title appears in the form of a very intricate monogram in the *thuluth* script, the deciphering of which is somewhat difficult. It appears to contain the words "printed in Fárs." At the top of the title-page stand the words "in the private printing-press in the Mirror-room of the Seat of Government of the Province: yearly subscription, 3 *tumán*"; and at the end the signature "Director of the Fárs printing-press and

writer of the paper, *Mirzā Taqī Ḥakīm-bāshī*." The paper is written in a fine *nasta'liq*, and contains excellent verses composed by the poets of that period and sometimes by *Mirzā Taqī Khān* himself. At the foot of the page are dissertations on various topics, written in the *divānī* hand, amongst these being a treatise on "the Education of Children," and another on "a Scientific Problem," dealing with the Creation of the Earth and the Science of Geology, which appeared in the eleventh and subsequent numbers. At the beginning of the latter the author says that he has written and published separately a more detailed monograph on Geology. All these treatises and articles are written by the editor himself.

Not in *Rabino*, and not seen.

(260)

**Faraj ba'd az Shiddat** (*Joy after Grief*).

فرج بعد از شدت

A weekly paper lithographed in Tih-rān.

See *Rabino*, No. 124, on whose authority it is here given. He describes it as Conservative, and adds that only about seven numbers were issued. I have not seen it.

(261)

**Farwardin.**

فروردین

A weekly newspaper printed at Urmīya (*Āzarbāyjān*) in A.H. 1329 (=A.D. 1911) under the editorship of *Mirzā Ḥabīb Āqā-zāda*, and written by *Mirzā Maḥmūd Khān Ashraf-zāda*. This paper contained a comic or satirical section in *Āzarbāyjānī* Turkish entitled "*Dāghdān-Bāghdān*." In politics it was Democrat.

See *Rabino*, No. 123, according to whom it first appeared on the 18th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1329 (=May 27, 1911). I possess No. 2, which comprises 4 pp. of 15½" x 9½". Yearly subscription, 12 grāns in Urmīya, 15 grāns elsewhere in Persia, 18 grāns abroad. The above-mentioned *Mirzā Maḥmūd Khān* was beaten almost to death by Russian soldiers at the command of the Russian Consul at the time of the Russian aggressions in *Āzarbāyjān* which began on Dec. 20, 1911. A full account of this event was published in the Constantinople *Terjuman-i-Haqīqat* of Feb. 11, 1912.

(262)

**Farhang** (*Culture*).

فرهنگ

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahān in A.H. 1296, and edited by *Mirzā Taqī Khān* of Kāshān, editor of the

newspaper *Fārs* (see above, No. 259), and after his death by Mirzā Mahmūd Khān, father of Mirzā Muḥammad Khān, the present *Farhang-i-Mamālik*, under the general control of the *Zillū's-Sultān*. One number of it, which lies before me (No. 364) is dated the 21st of Ramazān, A.H. 1303 (= June 23, 1886). The first page is numbered (in continuation of what precedes) 53, and at the end is the imprint "Manager and Editor, Mirzā Mahmūd Khān; writer, 'Abdu'r-Rahīm." At the foot of the page is published an instalment of a book entitled "The War in the East of A.D. 1877," translated by Mirzā Kāzīm, Professor of Natural Sciences in the *Dārul-Funūn* College of Tih-rān.

Some persons ascribe the original foundation and inception of this paper to Mirzā Husayn Khān (son of the late Mirzā Yūsuf Khān *Mustasharū'd-Dawla* of Tabriz) who is at present resident in Paris and was formerly physician to the *Zillū's-Sultān*, and say that he was its founder and originator.

See Rahino, No. 156, according to whom it first appeared (under the patronage of the *Zillū's-Sultān*) on the 2nd of Jumāda I, A.H. 1296 (= April 14, 1879), and came to an end on the 12th of Muharram, A.H. 1308 (= August 28, 1890).

## (263)

**Farhang (Culture).**

فرهنگ

A weekly paper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of the *I'tizādū'l-'Ulum* Murtazā-yi-Sharif.

See Rahino, No. 137. I possess No. 7, which is dated the 19th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1325 (= June 30, 1907). It comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Tih-rān, postage extra in other parts of Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, 7 francs in Europe.

## (264)

**Faryād (The Lament).**

فریاد

A weekly paper printed in Urmiya in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mirzā Mahmūd Ghani-zāda, editor of the *Shafaq* and *Bū Qalamūn* (q.v.). It was written partly in Persian and partly in Turkish.

See Rahino, No. 128. I possess No. 22, which is dated the 27th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 5, 1907). It comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 12 *grains* in Urmiya, 18 *grains* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, 50 piastres in Turkey, and 12 francs in Europe.



(265)

**Fikr** (*Thought*).

فکر

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912). Its proprietor and chief contributor is an Armenian named Alexander Dir Wartāniyāns, one of the teachers in the Armenian College. This paper was founded after the Russian aggressions and executions of the Liberal and Nationalist leaders, the suppression of all the newspapers, the entry of Samad Khān Shujā'ū'd-Dawla of Marāgha into Tabriz, and the triumph of violent reaction (Muharram, A.H. 1330 = January, 1912), at the secret instigation of the Russians and with the encouragement of Samad Khān, in order to glorify the actions of the Russians in Persia and to belittle the Constitution. It may be considered the only Persian newspaper in Persia which is an open traitor to its country. Amongst Persian newspapers it has, indeed, but one rival in this respect, namely the Transcaspian Gazette (*Majmū'a-i-Māward-yi-Bahr-i-Khazar*), published at 'Ishq-ābād, which will be mentioned presently.

As this paper was not started until after the publication of Rahino's Work, it is naturally not mentioned by him, nor have I seen it, though quotations from it amply sufficient to prove its detestable and unnatural tone have been published in the *Habsh'i-Matin* and other papers.

(266)

**Fikr-i-Istiqbāl** (*The Thought of the Future*).

فکر استقبال

A paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of 'Alī Sharīf-zāda of Tabriz. The first number was dated the 21st of Sha'bān, A.H. 1328 (= Aug. 28, 1910).

See Rahino, No. 159. I possess No. 1, which comprises 8 pp. of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The subscription price is not mentioned.

(267)

**Falāḥat-i-Muḥaffarī** (*Muḥaffarī Agriculture*).

فلاحت مظفری

A monthly scientific paper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1) under the management of the College of Agriculture, and treating of agricultural matters.

See Rahino, No. 160, according to whom the second number appeared on the first of Jumāda II, A.H. 1318 (= Sept. 26, 1900). I possess No. 2 of the First and

No. 16 of the Second Year, the latter dated Safar, A.H. 1325; but if the paper was founded in A.H. 1318, as stated above, this must be an error (easily made with Arabic figures) for A.H. 1320 (= May-June, 1902). It comprises 16 pp. of 7" x 4½". Weekly subscription, 6 grans in Tihirán, 8 grans elsewhere in Persia, and 12 grans abroad.

## (268)

**Fawá'id-i-'Ámma** (*Public Benefits*).

فوائد عامة

A weekly paper printed in Tihirán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Its editor and chief contributor was the notorious Yúsuf Khán of Herát, who was also the editor of the *Killid-i-Siyásí* ("Political Key"), and who was responsible for the recent disturbances in Mashhad (April, 1912) and the bombardment of the Holy Shrine of the Imám Rizá (Rabi' ii, A.H. 1330 = March-April, 1912). The editor of this paper had formerly resided in Mashhad, and was suspected of being connected with the Russian Consulate there, and of being an instrument in their hands. Soon after the granting of the Constitution he came to Tihirán and founded this paper and the *Killid-i-Siyásí*. He wrote chiefly against the English. [He was captured and shot by the Persians on May 23, 1912.]

See Rahino, No. 161. Not in my possession.

## (269)

**Qájáriyya**.

قاجارية

A weekly paper printed in Tihirán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Not in Rahino, and not seen.

## (270)

**Qálat Sharará** (*The Voice of Truth*).

قلعہ صداقت

A religious paper published in Chaldaean (Syriac) at Urmiya. It was founded and edited by a priest named Dáwúd (who has now embraced Islám, taken the name of 'Abdu'l-Aḥad, and settled in Constantinople) in 1896. The paper is now edited by French Catholic missionaries.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.






## (271)

**Qásimu'l-Akhbār** (*The Distributor of News*).

قاسم الاخبار

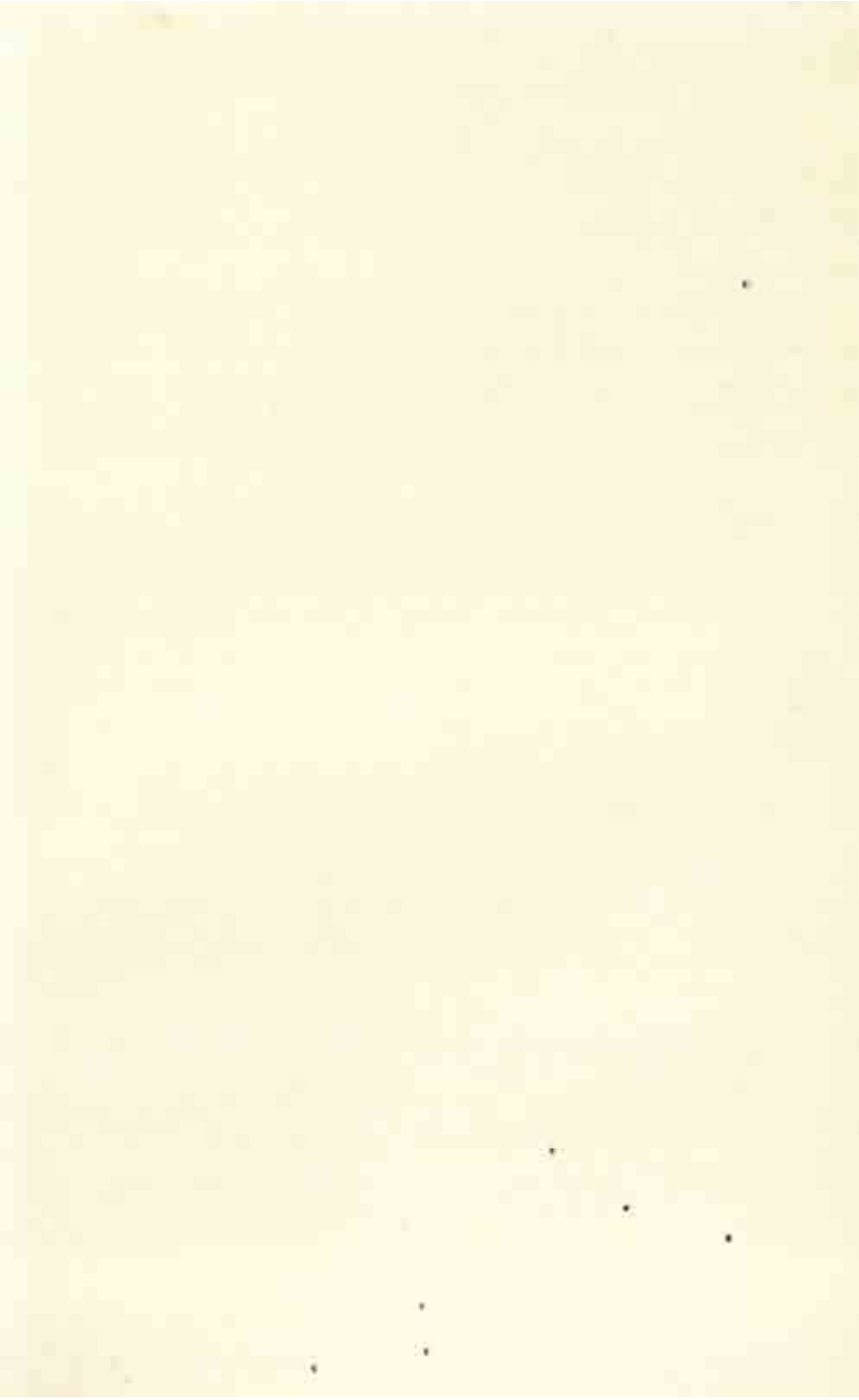
A weekly paper printed in Tihirán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim Khán of Hamadán.

See Rahino, No. 162, who correctly describes it as lithographed, and states that No. 2 was dated the 5th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1325 (= May 18, 1907). I possess Nos. 2 and

<p>اگرچه سالیانه لهران ..... ۱۰۰ قران ادبیات افروز ..... ۱۰۰ قران تیمت یک نرود و دیار است علاج از عهران نه شعی</p>	<p>نام مستعار شماره ..... مذیبه ..... از عدل بین که بعضی شود و بی پرستی که عدل نیست اینست خوانا چنانکه</p>	<p>محل توزیع ادویه و غذای نام و جدی است میرزا ابوالحسن مفتی کبریا و جاذبه متعارف است</p>
<p>تاریخ نشر جاری و ..... ۱۳</p>		
<p>اردلی تبریز تبریز تبریز</p>	<p>کهنه تقصیر</p>	<p>بنی یادگیر</p>
<p>فردا آبجی عدالت آذربایجان</p> 	<p>جلالتین و غنچه در مینو</p> 	<p>فردا آبجی عدالت آذربایجان</p> 
<p>خراسان خراسان</p>	<p>شیراز برشیر</p>	<p>اصفهان اصفهان</p>
<p>بشارت غریبه جواهر</p> 	<p>مذیبه تلفی الفت</p> 	<p>بشارت غریبه جواهر</p> 
<p>عهران عهران عهران عهران</p>	<p>عرب دری عرقه</p>	<p>عهران عهران عهران عهران</p>
<p>عرب دری عرقه عهران عهران عهران عهران</p> 	<p>عرب دری عرقه عهران عهران عهران عهران</p> 	<p>عرب دری عرقه عهران عهران عهران عهران</p> 

The Songsters of the Press.

From the *Qadimul-Akbar* of June-July, 1907





7. Each consists of a single lithographed sheet, with rude cartoons on one or both sides, measuring  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ . The writing is a large but clumsy *sa'liq*. Yearly subscription, 8 *grans* in Tihirán, 12 *grans* elsewhere in Persia.

(272)

قانون

Qánún (*The Law*).

A paper printed in London in A.H. 1307 (= A.D. 1889-90), edited and written by Mirzá Malkom Khán *Názimū'd-Dawla*. The entry of this paper into Persia was forbidden, so that numbers of it were highly prized by such as possessed them. For the same reason, after the proclamation of the Constitution, in order to increase the number of copies it was reprinted by Hāshim Āqá Rabi'-zāda.

See Rahino, No. 163, who states that the reprint was made in A.H. 1316, and that he had seen 24 numbers of it. I possess a complete set of the original London edition, of which 41 numbers appeared, the first on Feb. 20, 1890. For further details, see my *History of the Persian Revolution*, pp. 35-47. Each number comprised 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ .

(273)

قزوین

Qazwin.

A paper printed in Qazwin twice a week in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mirzá Abu'l-Qāsim. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rahino, No. 164. I possess No. 21 of the First Year, dated the 19th of Jumāda II, A.H. 1328 (= July 8, 1910), and No. 16 of the Second Year, dated the end of Jumāda I, A.H. 1329 (= May 29, 1911). One contains 8 and the other 4 pages of  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ . Yearly subscription, 10 *grans* in Qazwin, 12 *grans* elsewhere in Persia.

(274)

قند یارسی

Qand-i-Pārsī (*Persian Sugar*).

A literary magazine, published at 'Alī-garh in India.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(275)

کاشان

Kāshān.

A paper published in Kāshān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(276)

کاشف الحقایق

Kāshifu'l-Haqā'iq (*The Revealer of Truths*).

A paper printed in Tihirán twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Mirzá Ḥabībullah Khán,

known as "Gospodin," director of the college called *Madrasa-i-Wafan*.

See Rabino, No. 165, who states correctly that the paper was published at Rasht, and that only one number appeared on the sixth of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1325 (= Jan. 10, 1908). This number I possess. It comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, 12 *grdes* in Rasht, 18 *grdes* elsewhere in Persia, 10 francs in Europe, 4 roubles in the Caucasus, and 10 rupees in India.

## (277)

**Kakhwā** (*The Star*).

کَکْوَ

A political paper in the Chaldaean (Syriac) language printed in Urmiya in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Yūkhannā Mūshā.

Not in Rabino, and not seen. I have a manuscript note in Persian in my copy of Rabino (I think by the author of this treatise, Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat"), to the effect that besides this paper, which was political and national, the Chaldaean or Syrian Christians of Urmiya had two other newspapers in their language, both religious, the one Protestant and the other Catholic.

## (278)

**Kirmān**.

کِرمَن

Rabino (No. 166) mentions a paper of this name (omitted by Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī Khān) printed at Kirmān under the editorship of Mīrzā Ghulām Husayn of Kirmān, and adds that it was Democrat in politics and was started on the 17th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1329 (= March 18, 1911). I do not possess a copy.

## (279)

**Kirmānshāh**.

کِرمَنشَاه

A weekly newspaper printed at Kirmānshāh in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of *Faṣṭhū'l-Mutakallimīn*, Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 167, who says that it first appeared on the 3rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Dec. 16, 1909), and was published for three months at very irregular intervals, after which it was suspended. I possess No. 11, which comprises 4 pp. of  $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ", and is dated the 7th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1327 (= Dec. 20, 1909), which hardly agrees with the date of inception given above. Yearly subscription, 12 *grdes* in Kirmānshāh, 15 *grdes* elsewhere in Persia, 8 francs abroad.

(280)

**Kashgūl** (*The Alms-gourd*).

کشکول

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islām, also editor of the *Niddā-yi-Waṭan* and *Muḥakamat*.

See Rabino, No. 168, who gives the date of No. 1 (really No. 4) as the 22nd of Šafar, A.H. 1325 (= April 6, 1907). I possess Nos. 4-39 of the First Year, and Nos. 1-31 of the Second, extending from April 1907 to May 1908. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 6½", of which as many as three are often occupied by rude caricatures. The writing is *ta'liq*. Yearly subscription, 8 *grins* in Tīhrān, 10 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, 2 francs in Europe, 3 roubles in the Caucasus and Russia, 4 rupees in India.

(281)

**Kashgūl** (*The Alms-gourd*).

کشکول

A weekly comic paper lithographed in Iṣfahān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islām, editor of the above-mentioned Tīhrān *Kashgūl*.

See Rabino, No. 168, according to whom 13 numbers were issued in Iṣfahān between the 12th of Rabi' i. A.H. 1327 (= April 3, 1909), and the 9th of Shawwāl (= Oct. 24) of the same year. I do not possess a copy.

(282)

**Kilid-i-Siyāsī** (*The Political Key*).

کلید سیاسی

A weekly paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Yūsuf Khān of Herāt, who used to sign himself "Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, Sardār-i-Muḥājir-i-Hirawī." As has been already mentioned in connection with the newspaper *Fawā'id-i-'Anna* (No. 268 *supra*), this person recently raised the standard of Autocracy at Mashhad in the name of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, gathered round him a number of Reactionaries, filled Khurāsān with disturbance for a long while, gave great trouble to the Government, and finally took sanctuary in the Shrine of the Imām Rizā, until at length he afforded a pretext for the Russian aggressions against that Holy Place (in April, 1912).

See Rabino, No. 169. I possess No. 3, dated the 7th of Rabi' i. A.H. 1325 (= April 20, 1907). It comprises 37 pp. (numbered 17-48) of 7" x 3½". Yearly subscription, 10 *grins* in Tīhrān, 12 *grins* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, and 4 rupees in India.

(283)

**Kamál** (*Perfection*).

كمال

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901-2) under the editorship of Mirzá Husayn *Tabīb-zāda*, director of the Kamál College and editor of the newspaper *Tabriz*. See No. 100 *supra*.

See Rahino, No. 170. I do not possess a copy.

(284)

**Kamál** (*Perfection*).

كمال

A fortnightly paper printed in Cairo in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) under the editorship of Mirzá Husayn *Tabīb-zāda*, formerly editor of the above-mentioned *Tabriz Kamál*.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(285)

**Kingāsh** (*The Council*).

کنگاش

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥasan-zāda.

See Rahino, No. 171, who states that in politics the paper was Moderate, and that it first appeared on the 13th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 16, 1910).

(286)

**Kawklb-i-durri-yi-Nāsiri**  
(*The Shining Nāsiri Star*).

کوکب درّی ناصری

A paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Nāẓimū'l-Islām of Kirmān, editor of the paper *Naw-rāz* ("New Year's Day," *q.v.*), and author of the *Tārīkh-i-Bidd'ī-yi-Irāniyān* ("History of the Persian Awakening"). Forty numbers of this paper were published yearly.

See Rahino, No. 172. I possess No. 12 of the Third Year, dated the 22nd of Rabi' II, A.H. 1325 (= June 4, 1907). It comprises 8 pp. of 12½" x 6½", and is lithographed in a fine large *nast'kh*. Yearly subscription, 20 *grims* in Tihrán, 25 *grims* elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, 12 francs elsewhere.



(287)

**Kawklb-i-Nāsiri** (*The Nāsiri Star*).

کوشب ناصری

A paper lithographed in Bombay in A.H. 1309 (= A.D. 1891-2), founded and edited by Mirzā Mustafā Shaykhū'l-Islām of Bahbahān.

Not in Rabino. I possess No. 3 of the First Year, dated Jan. 15, 1892; and Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the same year, each dated a week later than the preceding one. Each number comprises 8 pp. of  $17\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ ", lithographed in *ta'liq*. Yearly subscription, 15 *grāns* in Bombay, 20 *grāns* in India, the Persian Gulf ports and 'Arabistān, and 25 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia and in Turkey and Europe. Proprietors, Mirzā Mustafā and Dr Silvester (?), editor, Mirzā Mustafā Shaykhū'l-Islām of Bahbahān.

**Guftugū-yi-Ṣafā-khāna-i-Isfahān**

گفتگوی صفاحانه اصفهان

(*Discussions of the House of Purity of Isfahān*).

Another name for the paper entitled *al-Islām*. See No. 45 *supra*.

See Rabino, No. 70.

(288)

**Gulistān** (*The Rose-Garden*).

گلستان

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Āqā Muḥammad Husayn Rā'isū'l-Tujjār (Chief of the Merchants).

See Rabino, No. 173, according to whom only four numbers were published, the first on the 14th of Shu'abān, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 22, 1907), and the last on the 1st of Dhu'l-Hijja (= Jan. 8, 1908). I possess Nos. 1-4, which agree with the above statement. Each number comprises 4 pp. of  $11 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Yearly subscription, "for the present, zeal and fairness at home, justice and equality abroad." No price is mentioned.

(289)

**Gulistān-i-Sa'ādat** (*The Rose-Garden of Happiness*).

گلستان سعادت

A newspaper lithographed twice a week in Tihrah in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mirzā Naṣru'llāh Khān.

See Rabino, No. 124, according to whom No. 1 appeared in Rab' ii, A.H. 1325 (= May-June, 1907), No. 4 on the first of Dhu'l-Hijja of the same year (= Jan. 5, 1908), while Nos. 6 and 7 were undated. I possess Nos. 1 and 3. Each comprises 4 pp. of  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ", lithographed in *ta'liq*. Yearly subscription, 20 *grāns* in Tihrah, 6 roubles in Russia, 10 rupees in India, and 15 francs in Europe.

## (290)

**Ganj-i-Sháyagán** (*The Royal Treasure*).

کنج شایگان

A paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

**Ganjīna-i-Anṣār** (*The Treasure of the Helpers*).

کنجینه انصار

A newspaper published at Iṣfahān. See above, No. 73, under *Anṣār* (انصار).

## (291)

**Ganjīna-i-Funūn** (*The Treasury of Arts*).

کنجینه فنون

A fortnightly scientific magazine lithographed at Tabriz in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3) under the management of the "Tarbiyat" Library. This periodical continued publication for just a year, and published 24 numbers, each of which comprised four parts. The first, entitled *Ganjīna-i-Funūn*, was a scientific and technical miscellany; the second, entitled *Hunar-āmūz* ("The Instructor in Arts") was a book compiled by the writer (Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat"); the third, entitled *Tamad-dunāt-i-qadīma* ("Ancient Civilizations"), was translated from the French of Gustave le Bon by Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zāda; while the fourth, entitled *Saffīna-i-ghawwāṣa* ("The Diving Ship," or "The Submarine") was translated from the French of Jules Verne, the novelist, by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān *I'tisāmūl-Mulk*.

See Rabino, No. 175, according to whom the magazine in question began on the 1st of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1320 (= March 1, 1903), and ended on the same date of A.H. 1321 (= Feb. 18, 1904). I do not possess this publication.

## (292)

**Gīlān.**

گیلان

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Asad-zāda. It was connected with and managed by the *Anjuman* (Provincial Council) of Gīlān.

See Rabino, No. 176, according to whom only 12 numbers were issued, the first on the 18th of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 (= Jan. 11, 1909). I do not possess a copy.

## (293)

**Gilán.**

گیلان

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) and published every alternate day. It was edited by "M.S.", and in politics represented the Moderates.

See Rahino, No. 177, who gives the 26th of Sha'bân, A.H. 1328 (= Sept. 2, 1910), as the date of inauguration.

## (294)

**Lisânu'l-Ghayb** (*The Tongue of the Unseen*).

لسان الغیب

A newspaper "jelly-graphed" and clandestinely circulated in Tihân about A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901-2) by a secret committee which used formerly to write against the *Aminu's-Sultân*, and concerning which something has been already said in the Introduction (p. 21).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

## (295)

**Lodiana Akhbâr** (*Lodiana News*).

لودیانه اخبار

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta on Saturdays, which, according to Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (No. 1834), was in circulation in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

## (296)

**La Patrie.**

A newspaper published at Tihân in French in A.D. 1876 (= A.H. 1293). See above in the Introduction, pp. 16-17.

See Rahino, No. 227, who states that it began (and ended) on Feb. 5, 1876.

## (297)

**Mujâhid** (*The National Volunteer*).

مجاهد

A paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) and appearing every other day, edited by Sayyid Muhammad Sha-bistari, known as Abu'z-Ziyâ, editor of the papers *al-Hadîd* and *Iran-i-Nawâ*. In consequence of the Abortive *Coup d'État* (of December, 1907), or Event of the Artillery Barracks (*Waq'a-i-Tûpkhâna*), of a letter from Baghdâd containing an attack on Sayyid Kâzîm of Yazd, a *mujtahid* residing at Najaf, it incurred

the hatred and vengeance of certain fanatics, and its editor was subjected to a severe bastinado, and was expelled from the city. This paper was published on behalf of the Social Democrats, and served as their organ.

See Rabino, No. 178, who gives the 9th of Shabân, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 17, 1907), as the date of inception, and adds that No. 22 was dated the 9th of Dhū'l-Qa'da (= Dec. 14) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1, 20, 21 and 22, which comprise 4 pp. of 10½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 15 grāns in Tabriz, 20 grāns elsewhere in Persia, and 25 grāns abroad.

## (298)

**Mujāhid** (*The National Volunteer*).

مجاهد

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

See Rabino, No. 179, who says that only five numbers were published, the first on the 9th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 15, 1907), and the last on the 2nd of Muharram, A.H. 1326 (= Feb. 5, 1908). I possess Nos. 1 and 4, which comprise 4 pp. of 12" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 grāns in Gilān, 15 grāns elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia.

## (299)

**Majlis** (*The Assembly*).

مجلس

A paper printed in Tih-rān, which first appeared on the 8th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1324 (= Nov. 25, 1906), edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq (son of the well-known Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Tabātabā'ī), and written by the *Adibū'l-Mamālik*, editor of the *Adab (q.v.)*. This was the first paper in Persia which reported the debates of the National Assembly after it was opened, on which account it achieved a great celebrity, so that in the provinces it was generally supposed that it was connected with the Assembly. After the restoration of the Constitution (in July, 1909) it again began to appear under the supervision of Shaykh Yahyā of Kāshān, a former contributor to the daily (Tih-rān) *Ḥablū'l-Matn*, and continued publication until these latter times (end of 1911 or beginning of 1912). During the Second Constitutional Period the politics of this paper were Moderate<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In No. 1 of this newspaper is a very fine *qasida* in praise of the National Assembly by the *Adibū'l-Mamālik*, which is one of the best poems produced during the Constitutional Period. It begins:

شاد باش ای مجلس ملی چه بینر عنقریب<sup>1</sup> از تو آید درد ملت را در این دوران طیب

"Hail, O National Assembly! For I see that at this epoch there will shortly issue forth from thee a healer for the Nation's ill."



See Rabino, No. 180. I possess a fairly complete collection of this paper. It underwent several enlargements. Thus No. 1 comprised 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ ; No. 8 increased in size to  $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ ; while No. 37 of the Third Year still further increased to  $21'' \times 14''$ . The yearly subscription also increased from 45 *grains* in Tihrán, 35 *grains* in the provinces, and 36 francs abroad, to 60 *grains* in Tihrán, 75 *grains* in the provinces, 40 francs abroad, and 16 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus.

## (300)

مجله انجمن اتحادیه سعادت

**Majalla-i-Anjuman-i-Ittihādiyya-i-Sa'ādat**

(*Magazine of the Society of the Union of Happiness*).

See under *Ittihādiyya-i-Sa'ādat*, No. 27 *supra*.

Not in Rabino.

## (301)

**Majalla-i-Istibdād** (*Magazine of Autocracy*).

مجله استبداد

A monthly magazine printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) and edited by [Shaykh Mahdī of Qum, entitled] *Shaykh-i-Mamālik*.

See Rabino, No. 181, who states that 31 numbers appeared in all, the first on the 25th of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1325 (= July 16, 1907). I was acquainted with the editor when I was in Kirmān in the summer of 1888, and in memory of that old friendship he sent me this magazine month by month, so that I possess an almost complete set.

## (302)

**Majalla-i-Ṭabābat** (*Medical Magazine*).

مجله طبابت

A scientific magazine lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (303)

مجله هیئت علمیّه دانشوران

**Majalla-i-Hay'at-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dānishwarān**

(*Magazine of the Scientific Society of Savants*).

According to Rabino (No. 182), on whose authority this publication is here included, it appeared monthly in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

## (304)

**Majalla-i-Nazmiyya** (*The Police Magazine*).

مجله نظمیه

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) which discussed matters concerning the Police.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (305)

**Majmū'a-i-Akhlāq** (*Ethical Miscellany*).

مجموعه اخلاق

A magazine printed every ten days in Tihrán in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) under the editorship of Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Khān (Muṣawwir 'Alī), and under the patronage of the *Anjuman-i-Ukhuwwat* ("Society of Brotherhood") of Zahirū'd-Dawla, that is to say the followers of the Mystical Path of Ṣaḥī 'Alī Shāh. This paper discussed ethical matters and was for the most part written by Mirzā Ibrāhīm Khān, Deputy for Isfahān in the Second National Assembly.

See Rabino, No. 183. I possess Nos. 2-10, and 12-15, which are not dated. Each contains 8 pp. of  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ , and is priced at 4 shāhīs. No yearly subscription is mentioned. The magazine contains a great deal of poetry, and professedly avoids political and religious matters.

## (306)

**Majmū'a-i-Mā-warā-yi Baḥr-i-Khaṣar**

مجموعه ما ورای بحر خزر

(*The Trans-Caspian Review*).

A weekly newspaper printed at 'Ishqābād (Askabad) in A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904-5) under the editorship of the Russian Fedoroff. This paper was the instrument of Russian policy and the vehicle of Russian political aims in Persia. It was founded during the Russo-Japanese War to proclaim the Russian advances and victories, and was distributed gratuitously throughout Persia by the Russian Consulates.

See Rabino, No. 184, according to whom No. 4 of the Fourth Year was dated the 15th of Dhū'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 26, 1909). I possess Nos. 3, 4 and 8 of the Third Year. Each contains 4-8 pp. of  $13'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 3 roubles in Russia, 4½ roubles abroad.

# مجموعه‌ای بحریه

ع ۰ ۶ ۱۳۲۲ م

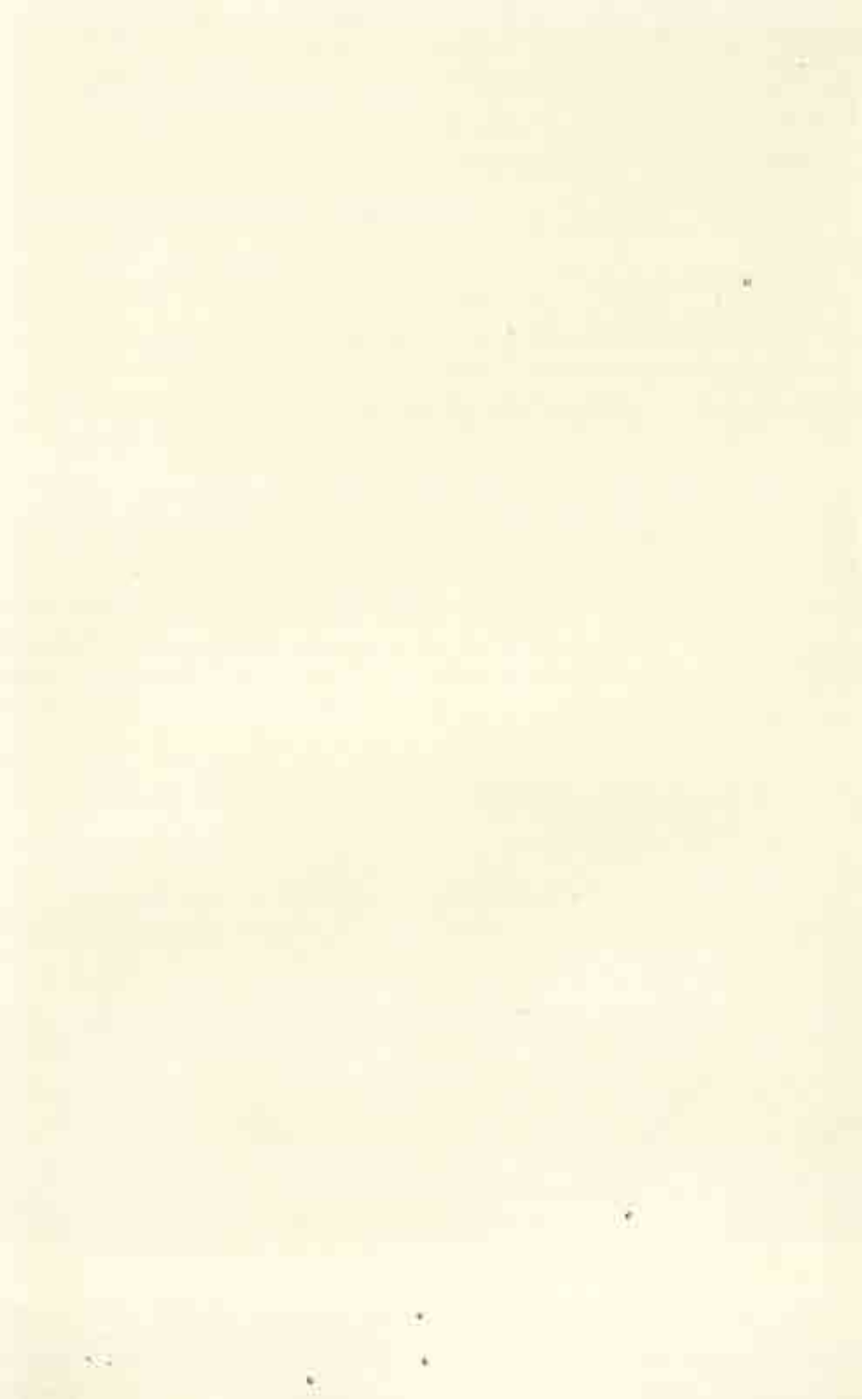
«مجله‌ای بحریه» در تبریز  
تألیف و تدوین: دکتر محمد علی  
شیرازی - ۳۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰  
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تبریز - ۳۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰  
قیمت: ۳۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰  
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Superscription and cover of the *Majmū'a-i-Bahr-i-Khazar*,  
or "Revue Transcaspienne"

No. 3 of the Third Year, Feb. 28, 1908





(307)

**Muḥākamāt** (*Judgements*).

محاکمات

A paper printed in Tihirān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), at first twice and afterwards thrice a week, under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islām of Kirmān, to give publicity to the proceedings of the Law Courts.

See Rahmo, No. 185, who describes it as the organ of the Ministry of Justice, and gives the 17th (*sic*, but see below) of Jumāda I. A.H. 1325 (= June 28, 1907), as the date of its first appearance. I possess Nos. 2, 3, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 43, 48, and 49, the first dated the 13th of Jumāda I. A.H. 1325 (= June 24, 1907), and the last the 14th of Rabi' I. A.H. 1326 (= April 16, 1908). Each number contains 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ ". Yearly subscription, 15 *prims* in Tihirān, 18 *prims* elsewhere in Persia, 2 mejlityēs in Turkey and Egypt, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 18 francs in Europe.

(308)

**Muḥākamāt** (*Judgements*).

محاکمات

A paper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahmūd Ghani-zāda of Salmās, editor of the *Faryād* and *Bū Qalamūn* (*q.v.*).

Not in Rahmo, and not seen.

(309)

**Muḥākamat-i-Yazd** (*Judgements of Yazd*).

محاکمات یزد

A weekly paper lithographed in Yazd in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Muhammad Šādiq.

See Rahmo, No. 186, who states that after the arrival at Yazd of the Bakhtiয়ারى Sandar-i-Jang, the newspaper *Ma'rifat* (see below, No. 318) was published under the title of *Muḥākamat*, but not more than two or three numbers were printed and circulated. I possess a copy of No. 2 of the First Year, which is dated the 17th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 30, 1909). It comprises 4 pp. lithographed in large, clear *ta'liq*, of  $11 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ". Yearly subscription, 16 *prims* in Yazd, 20 *prims* elsewhere in Persia, 25 *prims* abroad.

(310)

**Mudarris-i-Fārsi** (*The Persian Teacher*).

مدرس فارسی

A monthly magazine published in Bombay, partly lithographed and partly printed in small (book) form, in A.D. 1883 (= A.H. 1300-1). Its contents were partly Persian and partly English, and, as its name implies, were chiefly educational and connected with the study of the Persian language. It treated of Persian grammar and literature, and contained Persian stories,

anecdotes, proverbs, specimens of calligraphy, biographies, and notices of old poets and Kings of Persia, accompanied in most cases by English translations. Its first number was dated Thursday, January 1, 1883, and the following verse of poetry was printed on the top of each copy:

ز لای حید و نعت اولی است بر خاک ادب خفتن  
سجودی می توان کردن درودی می توان گفتن

A complete collection of three years (36 numbers) of this periodical is preserved in the Library of the British Museum under the class-mark 757.cc.20. The last (36th) number is dated December, 1885.

This periodical was edited by Khán Bahádur G. M. Munshi and his sons. Each number comprised 16 pp., and the yearly subscription was 4 rupees, if paid in advance, and 5 rupees if paid at the end of the year. At the beginning of each number is written in English: "to save much time, trouble and money." In the number for August, 1885, appears an advertisement of the *Farhang*, published at Isfahán, and an encomium on it, and in subsequent numbers news is occasionally quoted from that paper.

In the later numbers of the *Mudarris-i-Farst* there appear advertisements of a paper entitled *Mufarrihu'l-Qulub*, which is highly praised, and of which it writes as follows: "This is a weekly Persian newspaper published at Karáchi in Sind, and is the best Persian newspaper in India. It has appeared regularly for thirty years, and it is now the thirtieth year of its publication. Its Persian style is very good, and entirely accords with the spoken and written idiom of Persia. It contains the latest news from every country, and is in every respect a first-class newspaper. It is chiefly maintained and published by subventions from the rulers, princes, nobility and gentry of Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, India, Europe, etc. Its proprietors and publishers possess testimonials, guarantees and letters from most of the above-mentioned rulers, nobles and gentry which afford ample evidence as to the excellence of its style and taste. It is especially suitable for the use of students of Persian in India. It is edited and published by two learned, accomplished and well-known persons,

Mirzā Muḥammad Ja'far (the editor) and Mirzā Muḥammad Šādiq of Mashhad, Persian Consul at Karāchi. Yearly subscription for Indian nobles, 12 rupees, if paid in advance, and 24 rupees if post-paid; for people of the middle class, 10 and 20 rupees, respectively; and for students, 5 and 10 rupees respectively."

Not in *Rahino*, and not seen.

(311)

**Madaniyyat** (*Civilization*).

مدنیّت

A fortnightly newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1301 (= A.D. 1883-4) under the editorship of the Secretary to the Armenian Agency, known as Šadrā. No. 2 was dated Wednesday the 12th of Jumāda II, A.H. 1301 (= April 9, 1884).

Not in *Rahino*, and not seen.

(312)

**Madi** (? *Media*).

مدی

A weekly paper printed in Tihirān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), edited and written by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alī, known as *Mubad*, on account of his sentiments with regard to Ancient Persia and the pure Persian language. After the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and the bombardment of the *Majlis*, he became acquainted with the celebrated M. Panoff, the correspondent of certain Liberal Russian papers in Persia, who also took part in the Gilān Rebellion in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), at the time when the Russian Legation had expelled him from Tihirān. He accompanied him to St Petersburg under the name of "Mirzā Shaykh 'Alī the *Mujtahid*," and endeavoured to influence public opinion in Russia in a manner favourable to Persia by means of public speeches.

Not in *Rahino*, and not seen.

(313)

**Mirāt-i-Janūb** (*The Mirror of the South*).

مرآت جنوب

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Kirmān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Husaynī *Mu'ayyidu'l-Ashraf*.

See *Rahino*, No. 187. I possess a copy of No. 1, which is dated the 3rd of Muharram, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 4, 1911). It is lithographed in a large, clear *nasta'liq*, and comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 20 *qirans* in Kirmán. This number contains, on p. 1, a portrait of Mirzá Husayn Khán *Sardār-i-Najaf*.

## (314)

**Mirātu's-Safar wa Mishkātu'l-Hadar** مرآة السفر و مشکوة الحضر  
(*The Mirror of Travel and Lamp of Sojourn*).

A newspaper published in Rabi' i, A.H. 1288 (= May-June, 1871) on the march and at the halting-places during Nāsira'd-Dīn Shāh's summer journey to Mázandarān. It gave an account of the events of the journey from start to finish, and was printed and edited by Muhammad Hasan Khán *Pitūdu's-Saltāna*. In all thirteen numbers were published.

This information is supplied in a letter from H.F. the *Pitūdu's-Saltāna*. The paper is not mentioned by *Rahino*, and is not otherwise known.

## (315)

**Mirrikh** (*Mars*). مريخ

A newspaper lithographed in Tih-rán in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the editorship of Mirzá Hasan Khán *Šant'u'd-Dawla*. The first number was dated Muharram 5 of that year (= Dec. 30, 1878) and the last number the 16th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1297 (= May 26, 1880). In all eighteen numbers were published. This paper took the place of the *Rūznāma-i-Nizāmi* ("Military Journal") which preceded it, and would seem to have been founded by Mirzá Husayn Khán *Sipahsālār*<sup>1</sup>. See No. 191 *supra*.

Most of the above particulars are derived from information supplied by *Zahid'u'l-Mulk*. The paper is not mentioned by *Rahino*, nor have I seen it.

## (316)

**Musáwát** (*Equality*). مساوات

A weekly paper printed in Tih-rán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Rizá of Shiráz, and

<sup>1</sup> The *Pitūdu's-Saltāna* in one of his letters attributes the foundation and circulation of this newspaper to Prince Kámrán Mirzá, entitled *Nā'ib-u's-Saltāna*, the son of Nāsira'd-Dīn Shāh, who published it with the assistance of the present *Sardār-i-Kull*. It came to an end, however, after only twelve or thirteen numbers had appeared. It is, however, highly probable, nay, almost certain, that the details mentioned in the text are more correct and accurate, and that the other particulars refer to some other paper of which we have no further information.



Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Rahim of Khalkhál. This paper, by reason of its extreme boldness and steadfastness in Constitutional Principles, was one of the foremost champions in the Press of the First Constitution. It achieved great notoriety in consequence of its criticism of the Press Law, on the promulgation of which it published a number full of idle stories, fables and phantasies, saying that henceforth, in consequence of the above-mentioned Law, everything except such matters would be prohibited; and also in consequence of a celebrated article entitled "How is the Sháh?" directed against Muḥammad 'Alī Sháh. These actions led to the suppression of the paper and legal proceedings against the editor. The editor of this paper, Sayyid Muḥammad Rizā, was one of the eight persons whose surrender Muḥammad 'Alī Sháh demanded of the First National Assembly, but after the bombardment of the *Majlis* (June 23, 1908) he escaped and could not be captured. Finally he succeeded in reaching the Caucasus, whence he made his way to Tabriz, where, during the Revolution and siege of that city, he again published the *Musāwāt*. Finally he was elected by Tabriz as one of the Members of the Second National Assembly. In politics the paper was thorough-going Constitutionalist and Liberal.

See Rahino, No. 188, who says that in all 25 numbers of the Tihirán edition appeared, the first on the 25th of Ramaḡān, A.H. 1323 (= Oct. 12, 1907), and the last at the end of Rabī' 1, A.H. 1326 (= May 2, 1908). I possess a fairly complete collection.

(317)

**Musāwāt** (*Equality*).

مساوات

A paper lithographed in Tabriz early in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Muḥammad Rizā of Shirāz.

See Rahino, No. 188, according to whom the first issue of the Tabriz *Musāwāt* appeared on Muharram 1, A.H. 1327 (= Jan. 23, 1909), and was numbered "26" in direct continuation of the former Tihirán *Musāwāt*. I possess a fairly complete set of the Tihirán issues (Nos. 1-24, the last dated the 23rd of Rabī' 2, A.H. 1326 = May 25, 1908), and No. 27 (the second) of the Tabriz issue, which is printed, not lithographed, and is dated the 27th of Muharram, A.H. 1327 = Jan. 29, 1909. Each number contains 8 pp. of 12" x 6½". Yearly subscription of Tihirán issue, 12 *qurān* in Tihirán, 17 *qurān* elsewhere in Persia, 12 francs abroad; of Tabriz issue, 12 *qurān* in Tabriz, 20 *qurān* elsewhere in Persia, and 2 roubles abroad.

(318)

**Mashwarat** (*Council*).

مشورت

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(319)

**Mashrūṭa-i-Bī-qānūn** (*The Lawless Constitution*).

مشروطه بیقانون

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(320)

**Misbāḥ** (*The Lamp*).

مصباح

A paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7) under the editorship of Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsim of Tabriz.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(321)

**Muṣawwar** (*The Illustrated*).

مصور

Inserted on the authority of Rabino, No. 189, who gives no particulars. Perhaps what he had in view was the *Illustrated History of the War in the Far East*, which was published in parts in Tihrán.

(322)

**Muẓaffari**.

مظفری

A fortnightly, and subsequently weekly, paper, first lithographed and subsequently printed in Bushire in A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901-2), under the editorship of 'Alī Āqā of Shīrāz.

See Rabino, No. 190, who states that the paper was Democrat in politics, and that No. 7 was dated the 15th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1319 (= Jan. 25, 1902). I possess a large collection of this paper from the First to the Tenth Year (A.H. 1319-1329 = Jan. 1902-April, 1911). Of these, Nos. 2-66 (Jan. 1902-Sept. 1904) are lithographed, and the remainder printed. Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9" x 5". Yearly subscription, 22 *grans* in Bushire, 18 *grans* elsewhere in Persia, 8 rupees in India, 14 francs in Europe, Turkey and Egypt, and 3 roubles in Russia and Turkistān.

(323)

**Muṣaffarī.**

مظفری

A paper printed in Mecca in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of 'Alī Āqā of Shīrāz, editor of the homonymous Bushīrī paper mentioned immediately above. Only one number was published during the season of the Pilgrimage.

See Rabīno, No. 190, according to whom this paper (which I have not seen) first appeared in Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 (= Dec. 1908-Jan. 1909).

(324)

**Maḡhar** (*The Manifestation*).

مظهر

Of this weekly paper, not mentioned by either Rabīno or the author of this treatise, I possess one copy, No. 13, dated the 27th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Dec. 10, 1909). It is printed at Tiflis, partly in Turkish, partly in Persian, and bears a superscription in Russian. It comprises 4 pp. of  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ ", and contains on page 1 a portrait of Sardār-i-Humáyūn, the Persian Consul-General at Tiflis. Yearly subscription, 6 roubles. It describes itself as:—

ادبی سیاسی اقتصادی و وطنه خدمت ایدر هفته‌ك ترك غزدهی

—"a weekly literary, political, economic and patriotic Turkish newspaper."

(325)

**Ma'ārif** (*Instruction*).

معارف

A paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899-1900) under the supervision of the Society of Instruction (*Anjuman-i-Ma'ārif*).

Not in Rabīno, unless this be merely the early beginning of the next following.

(326)

**Ma'ārif** (*Instruction*).

معارف

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Shaykh Muḡammad 'Alī Bahjat of Dizfūl, editor of the magazine entitled *Da'watul-Haqq*.

See Rabīno, No. 191, who gives the date of No. 16 as the 11th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= March 27, 1907). I possess Nos. 13, 23, 31, and the supplement to 10. As the

paper appeared weekly, it appears by reckoning backwards that it began to be published in A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906-7), *not* 1313, a fact also indicated on each issue, where "1324" stands immediately beneath the title. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 11½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 17 *grāms* in Tih-rān, 20 *grāms* in the provinces, and 12 francs abroad. In No. 36 the title is printed in *nāzih* instead as heretofore in *ba'liq*.

## (327)

**Ma'arif** (*Instruction*).

معارف

A paper printed twice a week in Tih-rān in Sha'bān, A.H. 1326 (=Sept., 1908) under the management of the Society of Learning (*Anjuman-i-Ma'drif*).

See *Rahino*, No. 192, and No. 326 *supra*, of which I suspect it to be a continuation. Not seen by the Translator.

## (328)

**Ma'rifat** (*Knowledge*).

معرفت

A weekly paper lithographed at Tabriz in A.H. 1319 (=A.D. 1901-2) under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Abdu'llāh Khān, son of Mīrzā Taqī, President of the Courts of Justice (*Šadr-i-'Adliyya*), one of the Jahān-shāhī Sayyids of Tabriz, and Director of the *Ma'rifat* College.

Not in *Rahino*, and not seen.

## (329)

**Ma'rifat** (*Knowledge*).

معرفت

A weekly paper "jelly-graphed," and subsequently lithographed, in Yazd, in A.H. 1326 (=A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim *Iftikhārū'l-'Ulāmā*.

See *Rahino*, No. 193. I possess Nos. 6 and 8. The former, dated the 15th of Muharram, A.H. 1326 (=Feb. 18, 1908), is "jelly-graphed"; the latter, dated the 18th of Rammān, A.H. 1327 (=Oct. 3, 1909), is lithographed. From the long interval separating these two numbers, as well as from sundry differences apparent in arrangement and production, I am disposed to believe that in reality two independent papers named *Ma'rifat* were published in Yazd, one ("jelly-graphed") towards the end of A.H. 1325, and another (lithographed) about the middle of A.H. 1327. In size the two agree (4 pp. of 10½" × 6"), but the yearly subscriptions differ as follows: No. 6 (the "jelly-graph"), 20 *grāms* in Yazd, 22 *grāms* elsewhere in Persia; No. 8 (the lithograph), 10 *grāms* in Yazd, 12 *grāms* elsewhere in Persia. No editor's name appears on No. 6.



(330)

**Ma'rifatu'l-Akhlâq** (*Knowledge of Ethics*).

معرفة الاخلاق

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(331)

**Miftāhu'z-Zafar** (*The Key of Victory*).

مفتاح الظفر

A weekly scientific paper lithographed at Calcutta in A.H. 1315 (= A.D. 1897-8) under the editorship of Mīrzā Sayyid Hasan of Kāshān, afterwards editor of the Tihrán *Hablu'l-Matin*.See Rahino, No. 194. I possess Nos. 13 and 4 (*sic*) of the Second Year, the former dated the 26th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1316 (= April 4, 1899), and the latter the 25th of Jumādā I, A.H. 1317 (= Oct. 1, 1899). The number of pages varies from 4 to 8 of 11½" x 6½", lithographed in a rather large and ungraceful *ta'liq*. Yearly subscription, 10 rupees in India and the Persian Gulf, 35 *grana* in Persia and Afghanistan, 35 francs in China, Japan, Russia and Europe, and 5 *mejdīyyes* in Turkey.

(332)

**Mufarrihu'l-Qulūb** (*The Rejoicer of Hearts*).

مفرح القلوب

A weekly newspaper published at Karāchi (Sind) in A.H. 1302-3 (= A.D. 1885) and edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ja'far and Mīrzā Muḥammad Šādiq of Mashhad, Persian Consul at Karāchi.

See above, No. 310, under the *Mufarris-i-Fārsi*, through which alone it is known to us.

(333)

**Mukāfāt** (*Recompense*).

مکافات

A paper published in Khūy (Āzarbāyjān) in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mīrzā Aqā Khān Hirandī, director of the *Madrasa-i-Musdwāt* ("College of Equality"). Most of the articles in this paper were from the pen of Abu'l-Hasan Khān, Muḥammad 'Alī-zāda, entitled *Sa'idu'l-Mamālik*, and Amīr-i-Hishmat, who at that time held Khūy and Salmās on behalf of the Revolutionaries. Its proprietor was Mīrzā Nūru'llāh Yakānī. In politics the paper was Revolutionary.

See Rahino, No. 195. I possess No. 3, dated the 24th of Šafar, A.H. 1327 (= March 18, 1909). It comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Price of each copy, one 'Abdāl.

## (334)

**Maktab** (*The School*).

مکتب

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) under the editorship of Hájji Mirzá Hasan of Tabriz, known as *Rushdiyya*.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (335)

**Mu'ayyad** (*Aided*).

مؤید

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Láhiján in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

See Rabino, No. 196, on whose authority it is here inserted.

## (336)

**Mahdí Hammál** (*Mahdí the Porter*<sup>1</sup>).

مهدی حمال

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Akbar-záda. Only one number of it appeared.

See Rabino, No. 197, on whose authority it is here inserted. The date of publication was the 16th of Ramaẓán, A.H. 1328 (= Sept. 21, 1910).

## (337)

**Mízán** (*The Balance*).

میزان

An illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of *Fakhrul-Wadīn* of Káshán. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (338)

**Mitq** (*Thought*).

میتق

A paper printed at Tabriz in the Armenian language in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912) under the editorship of Alexander Dir Wartáníyáns, also editor of the Persian *Fikr*. (See No. 265 *supra*.)

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

<sup>1</sup> Mahdí Hammál ("the Porter") was well known in Tihrán as a man of immense height, bulk and strength, and of voracious appetite. He would eat 1½ or 2 maunds of bread and cheese, and could carry the weight of a *sharweir* on his shoulders. His voracity has become proverbial.

## (339)

**Násiri.**

ناصری

A paper lithographed in Tabriz every ten days in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893-4) under the editorship of Mullá Muhammad *Nadim-báshá* ("Chief Courtier"), director of the Muzaffarí College in Tabriz, and subsequently *Nadim's-Sultán* and Minister of the Press. The paper was subsequently edited by *Iqbál-í-Kuttáb*, and finally by Hájji Mirzá Mas'úd Khán *Šafá'ul-Mamalik*, son of Hájji Sayyid Hasan *'Adlu'l-Mulk* of Tabriz. It was semi-official, and was even considered as one of the official newspapers, and continued to be published for nearly seven years. Its polemics against the Constantinople *Akhtar* ("Star," q.v. No. 34 *supra*) deserve attention.

See *Rahmo*, No. 198. I possess No. 33 of the Third Year, dated the first of Ramazán, A.H. 1314 (= Feb. 3, 1897). It comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 16 *gráms* in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 40 piastres in Turkey, and 5 rupees in India.

## (340)

**Náqūr** (*The Clarion*).

ناقور

A paper lithographed twice a week in Isfahán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mirzá Masih Túysirkáni. The comic or satirical portion of this paper, entitled *Zisht u Zibá* ("Foul and Fair"), was written in a very agreeable literary style. In politics it was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutionalist.

See *Rahmo*, No. 200, according to whom 25 numbers appeared in all, the first on the 21st of Dhul-Qa'da, A.H. 1326 (= Nov. 25, 1908). I possess No. 9, dated the 24th of Šafar, A.H. 1327 (= March 17, 1909). It comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 14 *gráms* in Isfahán, 17 *gráms* elsewhere in Persia. Lithographed in good *nashá*.

## (341)

**Nála-i-Millat** (*The Nation's Cry*).

ناله ملت

A paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mirzá Áqá, editor of the *Istiqláq*. In politics the paper was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutionalist.

See *Rahmo*, No. 199. I possess No. 38 of the First Year, dated the 14th of Muharram, A.H. 1326 (= Feb. 17, 1908), which seems to show that the paper was founded in the latter part of A.H. 1325, not in 1326. It comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 8½". Yearly subscription, 8 *gráms* in Tabriz, 10 *gráms* elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia.

## (342)

**Nāma-i-Ḥaḡīqat** (*The Letter of Truth*).

نامه حقیقت

A paper published in Tīhrān in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## (343)

**Nāma-i-Waṭan** (*The Letter of the Fatherland*).

نامه وطن

A paper lithographed in Haydarābād in the Deccan in A.H. 1326 (?) (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of the *Ṣaḥūf-bāshī*, a fugitive from Tīhrān. The articles of this paper dealt with the supernatural, and it laid down sundry religious laws.

See Rabino, No. 201. I possess No. 7 of the Second Year, dated Ṣafar, A.H. 1326 (= March, 1908). It comprises 16 pp. of 10½" × 6½", lithographed in poor *ta'lliq*. No price is indicated.

## (344)

**Najāt** (*Salvation*).

نجات

A newspaper printed at first once and subsequently twice a week in Tīhrān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), before the capture of Tīhrān by the National Armies, under the editorship of Mīrzā Muḥammad of Khurāsān, editor of the paper *Ḥuḡūq* ("Rights," *q.v.*), and afterwards Member of the Second National Assembly. In consequence of a somewhat Liberal article, this paper was suspended by Sa'du'd-Dawla's Cabinet, which suspension provided one of the causes which led to the attack of the National Volunteers (*Mujāhidin*) of Qazwīn on Tīhrān. After the capture of Tīhrān it again resumed publication. In politics it was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutionalist, but not Democratic as Rabino asserts.

See Rabino, No. 202. I possess Nos. 1, 6, 12, 18 and 25, the first dated the 3rd of Jumāda II, A.H. 1327 (= June 22, 1909), and the last the 4th of Shawwāl (= Oct. 19) of the same year. Contains 4 or 8 pp. of 12½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 10 *ḡulm* in Tīhrān, 17 elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

## (345)

**Najāt** (*Salvation*).

نجات

A "jelly-graphed" paper published in Rasht.

See Rabino, No. 203, on whose authority it is here inserted.



(346)

**Naját** (*Salvation*).

نجات

A paper printed in Khúy in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). In politics it was Democratic.

See Rabino, No. 204. Not seen by the translator.

(347)

**Naját-i-Waṭan** (*The Country's Salvation*).

نجات وطن

A paper published in Iṣfahán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

See Rabino, No. 205, on whose authority it is here inserted. He adds that not more than seven or eight numbers were published.

(348)

**Najaf**.

نجف

A weekly paper printed at Najaf in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Muslim Zawin-záda and Hájji Muhammad ibn Hájji Husayn, and owned by Shaykh Husayn of Tihrán.

See Rabino, No. 206. I possess No. 6, dated the 16th of Junáda I, A.H. 1328 (= May 26, 1910). It comprises 8 pp. of  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 25 piastres in Najaf, 30 piastres elsewhere in Turkey, 15 *grins* in Persia, and 8 francs abroad.

(349)

**Najm-i-Bákhtar** (*The Star of the West*).

نجم باختر

See above under *Payámbar-i-Bákhtar* ("The Prophet of the West"), No. 96 *supra*.

See Rabino, No. 207. It was published at Washington.

(350)

**Nidá-yi-Rasht** (*The Voice of Rasht*).

ندای رشت

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). Only two numbers of it appeared, the first, according to Rabino, on the 28th of Rabí' i, A.H. 1329 (= March 29, 1911), and the second on the 2nd of Rabí' ii (April 2) of the same year.

See Rabino, No. 208.

(351)

**Nidá-yi-Islám** (*The Voice of Islám*).

ندای اسلام

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Shíráz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Sayyid Ziyá'u'd-Dín-i-

Tabátábá'í of Yazd, editor of the newspapers *Sharq* and *Barq* (q.v.).

See Rahino, No. 109. I possess Nos. 7, 14, and 22. The first is dated the 11th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= March 26, 1907). Each number consists of from 4 to 8 pp. of 10" x 7", lithographed (the earlier numbers in green ink) in a large and good *naskh*. Yearly subscription, 30 *gráns* in Shiráz, 36 *gráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 40 *gráns* abroad.

## (352)

**Nidá-yi-Waṭan** (*The Country's Call*).

ندای وطن

A weekly, subsequently bi-weekly, and finally, daily paper printed at Tihrán in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7) under the editorship of Majdu'l-Islám of Kirmán, editor of the newspapers *Kashgúl* and *Muḥákamát* (q.v.).

See Rahino, No. 210, who gives the 11th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1324 (= Dec. 27, 1906) as the date of first issue. I possess a fairly complete set. Each number comprises from 4 to 8 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 30 *gráns* in Tihrán, 36 *gráns* elsewhere in Persia, 2 mejidiyyés in Turkey and Egypt, 17 francs in America and Europe, 10 roubles in Russia, and 15 rupees in India.

## (353)

**Nidá-yi-Janúb** (*The Voice of the South*).

ندای جنوب

Of this paper, which is not mentioned either by Mirzá Muhammad 'Alí "Tarbiyat" or by Rabino, I possess one copy, No. 2, dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1329 (= Nov. 15, 1911). It comprises 8 pp. of 15" x 8½", and was printed in Tihrán. Proprietor and chief contributor, Mirzá Bāqir Khán, teacher and translator, of Tabriz; responsible editor, Muhammad Bāqir Khán Tangistání. Yearly subscription, 18 *gráns* in Tihrán, 20 *gráns* elsewhere in Persia, and 22 *gráns* abroad. The paper is described in the title as founded in Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (= Sept.-Oct., 1911).

## (354)

**Nasim-i-Shimál** (*The Breeze of the North*).

نسيم شمال

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Sayyid-Ashraf. This was one of the best literary papers, and in particular contained many notable poems, both serious and satirical.

See Rabino, No. 211, according to whom it appeared at irregular intervals, the first issue on the 2nd of Sha'bán, A.H. 1325 (=Sept. 10, 1907), and the "Third Year" began with No. 69. I possess Nos. 9-12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 33, 45, 48; Nos. 5 and 7 of the Third Year, No. 10 (dated the 2nd of Sha'bán, A.H. 1329 = July 29, 1911), and Nos. 12-14, 16. The numbering is somewhat erratic, and the intervals of publication were very irregular.

## (355)

**Naẓmiyya** (*The Police*).

نظمیه

A weekly illustrated newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (=A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mashhadī Mahmūd Isgandānī. The first number of it contains the portrait of *Iṣṭah'l-Mulk*, Chief of the Police at Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 212, who gives the name of the proprietress as Muḥammad 'Alī, and states that the first issue was on the 23rd of Rabī' i, A.H. 1326 (=April 25, 1908). I possess No. 1, which is lithographed in an indifferent *ta'līq*, and comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 8 *grāns* in Tabriz, 10 *grāns* elsewhere in Persia.

## (356)

**Naqsh-i-Jahān** (*The Picture of the World*).

نقش جهان

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Isfahān in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907-8), and published by the office of the newspaper *Isfahān*. (See No. 49 *supra*.)

See Rabino, No. 213, who gives the date of No. 1 as the 23rd of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (=Nov. 29, 1907). I possess No. 1, which comprises 4 pp. of 11½" × 6", lithographed in *ta'līq*, with two cartoons. Yearly subscription, 12 *grāns* in Isfahān.

## (357)

**Naw-Bahār** (*Early Spring*).

نوبهار

A paper printed in Mashhad twice a week in A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910), of which No. 1 was dated the 9th of Shawwāl (=Oct. 14, 1910) of that year, under the editorship of the *Malikū'sh-Shu'arā* ("King of the Poets"), who signed under the *nom de guerre* of "M. Bahār." This paper had a special importance on account of its extreme boldness and fiery denunciations, especially against the Russian aggressions. Finally, in consequence of the complaints of the Russian Legation in Tīhrān, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs ordered its suppression, but it subsequently resumed publication under the title of *Tāza Bahār*. (See No. 98 *supra*.) In politics this paper was Democrat.

See Rahino, No. 214. I possess Nos. 2, 28, 39 and 48, the first dated as above, the last the 12th of Jumáda I, A.H. 1329 (= May 11, 1911). Each comprises 4 pp. of  $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$ . Yearly subscription, 25 *gráms* in Mashhad, 30 *gráms* elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles abroad.

## (358)

**Naw-rúz** (*New Year's Day*).

نوروز

A weekly paper lithographed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3), edited by *Nāzimu'l-Islám* of Kirmán, also editor of the *Kawkiib-i-durri-yi-Nāgiri* (see No. 286 *supra*), and written by Mírzá Kāzím Khán of Kirmán.

See Rahino, No. 215, who gives the date of first issue as the 22nd of Dhū'l-Hijja, A.H. 1320 (= March 22, 1903). I do not possess a copy.

## (359)

**Naw-rúz** (*New Year's Day*).

نوروز

A paper lithographed in Isfahán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8).

See Rahino, No. 216, on whose authority it is here inserted.

## (360)

**Naw'-i-Bashar** (*The Human Race*).

نوع بشر

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

See Rahino, No. 217, who says that only six numbers appeared, the first on the 25th of Rabi' II, A.H. 1329 (= April 25, 1911), and the last on the 23rd of Jumáda I (= May 22) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1, 3 and 6. Each comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$ . Yearly subscription, 15 *gráms* in Rasht, and the same elsewhere plus postage.

## (361)

**Nayyir-i-A'zam** (*The Greater Luminary*).

نیر اعظم

A paper printed in Tíhrán twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), under the editorship of the *Mu'fmu'l-'Ulamá* of Isfahán, who was afterwards suspected of favouring the Reaction, and, after the capture of Tíhrán by the Nationalists (in July, 1909), was imprisoned for nearly a year with other political offenders.

See Rahino, No. 218. I possess Nos. 2 and 13, of which the former is dated the 16th of Ramazán, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 23, 1907), and the latter the 6th of Dhū'l-Qa'da (= Dec. 11) of the same year. Each comprises 4 pp. of  $12'' \times 7''$ . Yearly subscription, 14 *gráms* in Tíhrán, 17 *gráms* elsewhere in Persia, and 11 francs abroad.



(362)

**Waṭān** (*Fatherland*).

وطن

A weekly paper printed, and afterwards lithographed, in Tihṙān in A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906-7).

See *Rabino*, No. 219. I possess Nos. 3 and 10, dated Jan. 27 and April 22 respectively, both of which are printed; and Nos. 17, 20, 21 and 22, all of which are lithographed. The last number is dated the 12th of Ramazān, A.H. 1325 (=Oct. 19, 1907). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 16 *grims*.

(363)

**Waṭān dili** (*The Mother Tongue*).

وطن دلی

This paper, mentioned only by *Rabino* (No. 220), was lithographed at Tabriz in the Āzarbāyjanī Turkish language.

I possess one (probably incomplete) copy, consisting of a single sheet, lithographed on both sides in a good, clear *nasikh*, and bearing this title at the top of p. 1, but no date, subscription price, or other particulars. The sheet measures 12" × 6½". I am doubtful from its appearance whether it is a newspaper at all, in the proper sense of the word, and not rather an isolated sheet. It contains one long and complete article or appeal.

(364)

**Waqt** (*Time*).

وقت

A full-sized daily paper printed in Tihṙān in A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mīrzā Husayn Khān Kasmā'ī. It was a strong supporter of the Sipahdār's Cabinet, and the Moderates, and used to attack with vehemence the *Irān-i-Naw* (see No. 77 *supra*) and the Opposition (*i.e.* the Democrats), generally striving to cast suspicion on their orthodoxy in matters of Religion and Law. It had a comic or satirical section entitled *Darī-Warī*, which is almost unintelligible. In politics it was Moderate.

See *Rabino*, No. 221, who says that in all 60 numbers were published, the first on the 21st of Rabī' i, A.H. 1328 (=April 2, 1910), and the last on the 11th of Jumāda li (=June 20) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1-46, the first, a single sheet, printed on one side only, being dated 11 days earlier than *Rabino* says (March 27, 1910), and the last May 26 of the same year. Most of the numbers comprise 4 pp. of 11½" × 14½". Yearly subscription, 50 *grims* in Tihṙān, 60 *grims* elsewhere in Persia, and 80 *grims* abroad.

(365)

**Hidāyat** (*Guidance*).

هدایت

A weekly paper printed in Tih-rān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā Muḥammad of Tih-rān.

See Rabino, No. 122, according to whom it first appeared on the 7th of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= Aug. 14, 1907). This is correct, but the paper seems to have been suppressed or suspended for eight months immediately afterwards, for No. 2 is dated the 3th of Rabī' i. A.H. 1326 (= April 7, 1908). I possess Nos. 1, 3 and 4. Each comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 7". Yearly subscription, 34 grāns in Tih-rān, 40 grāns in the provinces, 9 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 25 francs in other foreign countries.

(366)

**Hidāyat** (*Guidance*).

هدایت

A weekly paper lithographed in Qazwīn in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mīr Hādī Shaykhu'l-Islāmī.

See Rabino, No. 113. I possess Nos. 2 and 4, dated respectively the 3rd and the 10th of Rabī' i. A.H. 1326 (= April 5 and 12, 1908). Each comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 7". Yearly subscription, 8 grāns in Qazwīn, 10 grāns elsewhere in Persia, 1½ mejdiyyēs in Turkey and Egypt, 2 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 6 francs in Europe and America.

(367)

همدان

**Hama-dān** (*All-knowing*—a word-play on *Hamadān*, the well-known city).

A weekly paper printed at Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Hājji Husayn.

See Rabino, No. 124, who states that No. 18 was dated the 19th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 25, 1907). I do not possess a copy.

(368)

**Hawā wa Hawas** (*Freak and Fancy*).

هوا و هوس

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Lāhijān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Hājji Husayn.

See Rabino, No. 125, on whose authority it is here inserted. I have not seen it.

(369)

**Yādīgār-i-Inqilāb** (*Memorial of the Revolution*).

یادگار انقلاب

A paper lithographed in Qazwīn twice a week in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the *Mu'tamadū'l-Islām* of

Rasht during the sojourn of the National Volunteers (*Mujáhidín*) at that place. After the Conquest of Tíhrán, the paper was transferred thither and published there. In politics it was Revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 126. I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 5, dated the 1st, 2th and 18th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1327 (= June 20, June 24 and July 7, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Price in Qazwín, 100 *díndz* ( $\frac{1}{2}$  of a *grán*) a copy. Elsewhere in Persia, 12 *grán* a year.

## (370)

**Yádigár-i-Inqiláb** (*Memorial of the Revolution*).

یادگار انقلاب

A paper printed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the above-mentioned *Muttamadul-Islám* of Rasht.

See Rabino, No. 126. I possess Nos. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18 and 20, the first dated the 24th of Rajáb, the last the 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Aug. 11, 1909, and Nov. 28, 1909, respectively). Each number contains 4 pp. of  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Yearly subscription, 12 *grán* in Tíhrán, 15 *grán* elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, and 8 francs in Europe.

## (371)

**Yádigár-i-Janúb** (*Memorial of the South*).

یادگار جنوب

A weekly paper printed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

## MODERNISING INFLUENCES IN THE PERSIAN PRESS OTHER THAN MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS.

Since the most important effect of the Press in every country is the awakening of political and literary opinion amongst the people, it is not inappropriate that we should conclude with a brief survey of the relations which exist between the early activities of the Press in Persia, and the latest movement of renaissance and renovation.

That portion of this subject which is connected with periodical publications, *i.e.* newspapers and magazines, has been discussed in the preceding section, and we shall here speak only of the effects of certain books and pamphlets which were operative in bringing about this awakening of thought, most of which were either translations of European books, or were inspired by European civilization and culture, and which acted for the most part by means of a gradual and peaceful progress.

Amongst printed books of this class the first place must be assigned to the earlier scientific and technical works, whether translated or compiled, published in the early days of the foundation of the State College, or *Dārū'l-Funūn*, at Tih-rān (when a large number of European teachers were imported to give instruction there and in the Military College) to be used for teaching purposes; to which must be added a few earlier books ranging from the time of Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā *Nā'ibū's-Saltāna* to that period. The greater number of these books were composed by these new European teachers or the old Persian teachers of the College, such as Lieut. Krziz, M. Buhler, M. Lemaire, M. Vauvillier, Dr Polak, Dr Albu, M. Nicolas, M. Richard, M. Andreini, and M. Gasteiger of the former<sup>1</sup>, and Hājji Najmu'd-Dawla, Mīrzā Zakī of Māzandarān, Mīrzā Kāzīm, Instructor in

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to General Sir A. Houtum Schindler, K.C.I.E., for the identification of these gentlemen and for particulars concerning them. Artillery Lieut. Krziz and Dr Polak were two of the seven Austrians brought to Persia in 1821. The former returned to Europe in 1829, the latter in 1860. Capitaine Alexandre Buhler,



Natural Sciences, 'Alī Khān *Nāḡimu'l-'Ulām*, Zakā'u'l-Mulk and others of the latter. As an appendix to this brief sketch we shall give a partial and incomplete table of the most important of these new scientific and literary works. By the special kindness of H.E. Rizā-qulī Khān, General Superintendent of the Ministry of Sciences and of the *Dārū'l-Funūn* College (son of Nayyirū'l-Mulk, and grandson of the celebrated Rizā-qulī Khān *Lala-bāshī*) I am enabled to include in this table a list of printed books composed by the older and younger writers of the Government Colleges (such as the *Dārū'l-Funūn* and the Military and Political Colleges). The remaining items I have myself supplied, and the result I now put forward in the following pages so as to leave a foundation, poor and defective though it may be, which others devoted to the collecting of such information and interested in the study of the history of books and arts, may render more complete and comprehensive.

Amongst the more celebrated of the older Persian writers of this class were the late Hājji Najmu'd-Dawla (Mirzā 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, son of Mirzā 'Alī Muhammad of Isfahān) the Chief Astrologer (*Munajjim-bāshī*), who was entitled "Professor of all the exact Sciences" in the *Dārū'l-Funūn* College, and who was the author of numerous published Works on the Mathematical and Natural Sciences. He only died recently, in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), his age, according to current report, exceeding 90 years.

11 Régiment de Génie, came to Persia in 1855, captured Herāt in Nov. 1856, taught military science at the College, and took part in many expeditions. He died, a General of the First Class, in 1887. M. Albert Lemaire was sent to Persia by the French Government in 1868 to teach military music. He died in 1907. M. Felix Vauvillier came to Persia in 1865 on behalf of a French Syndicate for a railway, but was afterwards employed by the Persian Government in constructing an Arsenal, and afterwards as teacher of Mineralogy at the College. He retired on a pension about 1900 and died a few years later. Dr Albu of Berlin was engaged by the Mukhlisinū'l-Dawla for the College in 1882. He returned to Europe after 8 or 9 years of teaching and private practice in Persia. M. J. B. Nicolas, the translator of 'Umar Khayyām, was the father of M. Alphonse Nicolas, now French Consul at Tabriz. M. Richard came to Persia in 1844 or 1846, fell in love with a Kurdish girl, and turned Musulmān in order to marry her. M. F. Andolini was a Tuscan volunteer in the 1848 revolutionary movements, fled to Constantinople in 1849, entered the service of the Persian Government in 1852, and died in 1894. M. Gasteiger, an Austrian adventurer, came to Persia in the early sixties, was engaged on various engineering works and resigned in 1889. He died soon afterwards.

Another was Muhammad Hasan Khān *I'timādū's-Saltāna* (son of Hājji 'Alī Khān, entitled *Hājibū'd-Dawla*, of Marāgha), Minister of the Press, who contributed many additions to the *Sāl-nāmas* or "Year Books." Although, according to the statements of credible authorities, he himself was devoid of any profound knowledge or scholarship, and merely caused these works to be written under his supervision and the control of the Ministry of the Press by those men of learning whom he collected from every quarter, afterwards causing their writings to be published in his own name, yet since it was under his name that these books appeared, they are commonly known as his, and must therefore necessarily be described as such.

Another was Rīzā-qulī Khān of Shīrāz, known as *Lala-bāshi*, and poetically named *Hidāyat* (father of the present *Nayyirū'l-Mulk*), whose literary works are some of the most important which have appeared in Persia in the last century.

Others are the late Mīrzā Muhammad Husayn *Zakā'ū'l-Mulk* and his son Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī Khān, the present *Zakā'ū'l-Mulk*, who co-operated in the translation and compilation of many works.

Then mention must be made of certain well-known doctors, such as Dr Muhammad of Kirmānshāh, Dr Rīzā, Dr Abu'l-Hasan Khān, Dr 'Alī, and others, who have left as memorials of their learning and energy numerous works on Anatomy, Medicine, and other Natural Sciences.

After these mention may be made of the following (not in chronological order). Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān *Mustashārū'd-Dawla* of Tabriz; Hājji Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm *Najjār-adda* of Tabriz, known as "Tāliboff"; Mīrzā Ḥabīb of Isfahān, long resident in Constantinople; Hājji Muhammad Tāhir Mīrzā (the father of the present Kāflu'd-Dawla and the grandfather of Sulaymān Mīrzā, Member of the Second National Assembly); Mīrzā Taqī Khān of Kāshān; Mīrzā Āqā Khān of Kirmān, and others. Amongst the beneficent agencies which rendered valuable services to the cause of education was the Society for the publication of books (*Shirkat-i-ṭab'-i-kutub*) in Tīhrān, which was founded about A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902) or a little earlier, and published a great many important works. One of the

most active members of this was Hájji Mírzá Yahyá of Dawlatábád.

Here is subjoined a brief list of the scientific, literary and historical publications of recent times, printed in Persia or abroad since the introduction of the art of printing into that country<sup>1</sup>.

1. *List of printed books composed or compiled by the older and more recent teachers of the Dáru'l-Funún College.*

1. Military treatise on the science of Artillery, by Mírzá Zakí of Máxandarán.
2. Natural Philosophy and Mechanics, by the same.
3. Geography, by the same.
4. Military treatise on the science of Artillery, by M. Nicolas.
5. Ditto, by M. Buhler.
6. Mathematics, by Lieut. Krziz.
7. Algebra, by the same.
8. Surgery, by Dr Polak.
9. The Science of Artillery and Fortification, by Lieut. Krziz.
10. *Mizánu'l-Hisáb* (Arithmetic), by Mírzá Zakí.
11. Therapeutics, by Dr Abu'l-Hasan Khán.
12. Physiology, by Dr Albu.
13. The Science of Music, by M. Lemaire.
14. Principles of Chemistry, by the late Mírzá Kázim.
15. Anatomy, by Dr 'Alí Ra'isu'l-Afíbbá.
16. Medical Dictionary, by Dr J. L. Schlimmer, published in 1874.
17. Elementary Arithmetic, by Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár *Najmu'd-Dawla*. Its proper title is *Biddiyatu'l-Hisáb*.
18. *Kifáyatu'l-Hisáb*, a Manual of Arithmetic, by the same.
19. *Wasífu'l-Hisáb*, a more advanced Manual of the same, by the same.

<sup>1</sup> We shall not mention here the old books and treatises which have been printed or published during this period, but perhaps on a future occasion we may succeed in compiling a complete catalogue of all Persian printed and lithographed books, such as the American Dr Edward Van Dyck has done for Arabic printed books, under the title of *Ittid'at'l-Qund' bi-mil kanz mafbú'*.



20. *Nihāyatul-Hisāb*, a still more advanced Manual, by the same.
21. Detailed Geometry and Abridged Geometry, by the same.
22. Geography with Atlas, by the same.
23. Algebra, by the same.
24. Natural History, by the same.
25. Translation of *Télémaque*, by the same.
26. French-Persian Dictionary, by Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Khān *Muzayyinu'd-Dawla Naqqāsh-bāshī*.
27. French-Persian Dialogues, by the same.
28. French Verbs, explained in Persian, by the same.
29. Elementary and secondary Geometry, by Mīrzā Rīzā Khān *Muhandisu'l-Mulk*.
30. Elementary and secondary Geography, by the same.
31. Solution of Algebraical Problems, by the same.
32. Geographical projections (*Jahān-numā-yi-musattāha*) and Map of Persia, by the same.
33. Maps of America and Africa, by the same.
34. Chemistry, by Mīrzā Mahmūd Khān.
35. Arithmetic according to the four fundamental rules, by Mīrzā Asadu'llāh Khān *Muhandisu's-Sultān*.
36. Elementary Geometry, by the same.
37. Elementary Geography, by the same.
38. Method of composition, by M. Richard.
39. Grammar of composition, by the same.
40. Translation of *ماملیان*, by the same.
41. *Uṣūl-i-'Ilm-i-fabr*, on Algebra, by Āqā Khān *Muhasibū'd-Dawla*.
42. Geography, by the same.
43. Geography of Muḥammad Ṣafī Khān *Nāzimu'l-'Ulūm*.
44. Pocket Atlas, by Sulaymān Khān *Ihtisābu'l-Mulk*.
45. Elementary History of the Eastern Nations and of Greece, by Mīrzā 'Alī Khān *Mutarjimu's-Saltāna*.

2. *List of Books published by the teachers of the Political College.*

46. History of Rome, by *Zakā'u'l-Mulk*.
47. Short history of Greece, translated by *Nuṣratu's-Sultān*.



48. History of Eastern Nations, translated by *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*.
  49. Wealth, translated by the same.
  50. Fundamental Rights, translated by the same.
  51. *Ta'rikh-i-mukhtaṣar-i-frán*. History of Persia, by the same.
  52. History of Greece, translated by Sayyid 'Alí Khán.
  53. Fundamental Rights, by *Manṣúru's-Saltána*.
  54. International Rights, by *Mushtrú'd-Dawla*.
3. *List of printed books composed or compiled by the older and more recent teachers of the Military College.*
55. Movement of troops, translated by M. Andreini.
  56. Science of Fortification, translated by Mirzá 'Alí Akbar Khán, Engineer, of Shíráz.
  57. Movement of troops, according to the English method, translated by Bahráz Khán Qájár.
  58. Artillery drill with guns of 8.9 centimetres.
  59. Austrian centimetry.
  60. The Soldier's Whole Duty, translated by M. Gasteiger and Karím Khán.
  61. Drill Book, translated by the same.
  62. Drill Book.
  63. Infantry formations: Austrian method, translated by Karím Khán.
  64. Military Drill Book, translated by M. Gasteiger and Karím Khán.
  65. General Regulations and Duties of the Barracks (translator unknown).

4. *Miscellaneous Works, translated and original.*

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| 66. <i>History of Peter the Great of Russia</i> | } by Voltaire, translated by command of 'Abbás Mirzá Nā'ibú's-Saltána. |
| 67. " " <i>Charles XII of Sweden</i>            |  |
| 68. " " <i>Alexander</i>                        |  |
69. *Jám-i-jam* ("the World-showing Goblet of Jamshíd"), on Geography, translated by Farhád Mirzá *Mu'tamadú'd-Dawla*, son of 'Abbás Mirzá Nā'ibú's-Saltána. [It was published about

1850, and appears to be a translation of William Pinnock's Geography.]

70. *Jahān-numā* ("the World-shower") or Geography, by Mīrzā Rafā'il.

71. *Refutation of the Materialists*, by Sayyid Jamālū'd-Dīn al-Afghānī.

72. *Hājji Bābā*, by Sir Robert Morier, translated by Shaykh Ahmad Rūhī of Kirmān.

73. *History of Persia*, by Sir John Malcolm, translated by Mīrzā Hayrat.

74. *Ajmalū't-Tawārīkh*, a short history of Persia, by Rīzā-qulī Khān Lālā-bāshī, *Amīrū'sh-Shu'arā*, poetically named *Hidāyat*.

75. *Safar-nāma-i-Khwārazm*, by the same, being an account of his embassy to Khwārazm or Khiva. [Published by Leroux of Paris in 1879, with translation and annotations by the late M. Charles Schefer.]

76. Supplement to Mirkhwānd's Universal History, the *Rawzatū'sh-Shafā* (composed about A.D. 1500) carrying the history down to the middle of the nineteenth century, also by the above-mentioned Rīzā-qulī Khān.

77. The *Gulistān-i-Iram* ("Rose-garden of Iram") or *Bektāsh-nāma*, an imaginative romance, by the same.

78. *Majma'ul-Fuṣṣah* ("the Assembly of the Eloquent"), a great Anthology and Biography of Persian Poets in two folio volumes, by the same.

79. *Farhang-i-Anjuman-ārā-yi-Nāziri*, a large dictionary of Persian words explained in Persian, by the same.

80. The *Khān of Lankurān*, *Musta'li Shāh the Wizard*, and other national plays, descriptive of the condition of Persia and the Caucasus, in seven volumes, by Mīrzā Fath-'Alī Ākhundoff of Tiflis, translated by Mīrzā Ja'far of Qarāja Dāgh.

81. *Yak Kalima* ("One Word"), comparing the Rights of Man and the Laws of Europe with the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions, by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān *Mustashārū'd-Dawla* of Tabriz.

82. *Ganjlua-i-Dānish* ("the Treasury of Knowledge"), Elementary Scientific Dialogues, for Children, by the same.

83. *The Strata of the Earth*, on Geology, translated from the Turkish, by the same.

84. *Treatise on the Potato*, how to plant it and how to raise it in a scientific manner, by the same.

85. *Hada'iq-u'l-Tab'at* ("Gardens of Nature"), on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, by Mirzá Taqí Khán of Káshán.

86. *Education*, by the same.

87. *The Three Musketeers* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by Muḥammad Táhir Mirzá.

88. *The Count of Monte Cristo* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

89. *La Reine Margot* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

90. *Louis XIV* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

91. *Louis XV* of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

92. *Kitáb-i-Aḥmad; yá, Safina-i-Tálibí*, containing scientific and ethical Dialogues for children, by Mullá 'Abdu'r-Raḥím "Táliboff" of Tabriz, 2 volumes.

93. *The New Astronomy* of Flammarion, translated by the above "Táliboff."

94. *Natural Philosophy*, by the above "Táliboff."

95. *Nukhba-i-Sipihri* ("the Celestial Choice"), on the life of the Prophet, abridged from the *Nāsikhū't-Tawárikh* (see *infra*), by "Táliboff."

96. *Masdlikū'l-Muhsinín* ("Ways of Well-doers"), a romance containing scientific and political matters, by "Táliboff."

97. *Mas'álu'l-Hayát* ("Problems of Life"), dealing with sundry scientific and political matters, by "Táliboff."

98. *Ázádi chī chiz-ast?* ("What is Freedom?"), by "Táliboff."

99. *Pand-náma-i-Markús* ("Counsels of Marcus Aurelius"), translated by "Táliboff."

100. *Nāsikhū't-Tawárikh* ("the Abrogator of Histories"), an immense general history, carried down to about A.D. 1857, by Mirzá Taqí, poetically named *Sipihri*, and entitled *Lisánu'l-Mulk* ("the Tongue of the Kingdom").

101. *Baráhinū'l-'Ajám* ("Proofs of the Persians"), on Literature and Prosody, by the same.

102. *Le Médecin malgré lui*, translated from the French of Molière.

103. *Le Misanthrope*, translated into verse from the French of Molière.

104. *L'Âne*, translated from the French of Molière.

105. *Mir'atü'l-'Âlam* ("Mirror of the World"), a work on Geography, by 'Imâdu's-Saltana.

106. Nâsiru'd-Dîn Shâh's Journals of his Travels in Europe, in 3 volumes.

107. Muzaffaru'd-Dîn Shâh's Journals of his Travels in Europe, in 4 volumes.

108. *History of Nâdir Shâh*, translated from the English by Abu'l-Qâsim Khân Nâsiru'l-Mulk (the present Regent).

109. *Ittihâdu'l-Islâm* ("the Union of Islâm"), by Hâjji Shaykhu'r-Ra'is.

110. *Tracts*, by Malkom Khân.

111. *Uşûl-i-Maz-hab-i-Diwâniyân* ("Principles of the Courtiers' Way"), by Malkom Khân.

112. Literary compositions (*Munshd'at*) of the Amir Nizâm, edited by Hasan 'Alî Khân of Garrûs.

113. *Baththü'sh-Shakwâ* ("the Preferring of our Complaint"), translated by Mirzâ 'Alî Thiqatu'l-Islâm of Tabriz.

114. "The Adventures of a Frigate," translated by Ziyâ'u'l-'Ulamâ of Tabriz.

115. "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (the Introduction and Vols. I and II have thus far been published), by Nâzimu'l-Islâm of Kirmân.

116. "The Magician's Secret," translated by Mahdî Khân Mukarramu'd-Dawla, son of Hâjji Mirzâ Rafi' Nizâmu'l-'Ulamâ.

117. *Bustânü's-Siyâhat* ("Garden of Travel"), by Hâjji Zaynu'l-'Abidîn of Shirwân.

118. *Ta'rîkh-i-Guzîda* ("the Select History," a contemporary homonym of the well-known fourteenth-century work of that name, with which it must not be confounded), by Firidûn Malkom, the son of Prince Malkom Khân Nâzimu'd-Dawla.

119. An illustrated translation of Stanley's Travels in Central Africa, the illustrations by Kamâlû'l-Mulk.

120. *Athârû'l-'Ajam* ("Monuments of the Persians"), a



magazine containing some information about the ancient monuments of Persia, as well as about Persian literature and poetry.

121. *Pitrāz nigdrish-i-Pārsī*, an Epistolary Manual containing letters of all sorts composed in pure Persian, by Mirzā Rīzā Khān Bigishlū of Qazwīn, Chargé d'Affaires and Councillor of the Persian Embassy at Constantinople.

122. *Alif-bā-yi-Bihrust*, on the reform of the Persian Alphabet, by the same writer as the last, also written in pure Persian.

123. *Zād u būm* ("Native Land"), on the historical and actual Geography of Persia, by Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat," the Author of this treatise.

124. *Nāma-i-Khusrawān* ("the Book of Princes"), in 3 vols., a History of Ancient Persia, written in pure Persian, by Jalālu'd-Dīn Mirzā, son of Fath-'Alī Shāh.

125. *Haqiqatu'l-'Ālam* ("the Truth of the World"), by the above.

126. *'Aūdīru'l-Aḥādīth* ("Elements of Events"), on the Science of the new Natural Philosophy, with something about Magic, by Mirzā Hasan Jawzā.

127. *Būsa-i-'Azrā* ("the Virgin's Kiss"), translated.

128. *Gharā'ib-i-'Aẓā'id-i-Mīlāl* ("Strange Customs of diverse Peoples"), by Mirzā Ḥabīb of Isfahān.

129. *Dastūr-i-Sukhan* ("Model of Speech"), on Persian and Arabic Grammar, by the above.

130. *Dabistān-i-Pārsī* ("the Persian School"), on Persian Accidence and Syntax, by the above.

131. "History of Wilhelm," a history of the last epoch in Germany, translated.

132. *Shams-i-Tālib* ("the Rising Sun"), on the condition and recent developments of Japan, and its war with Russia, by Mātā'ūs Khān.

133. Treatise on Astronomy, by Mirzā Mahmūd Khān *Mushāwiru'l-Mulk*.

134. Geography.

135. Biography of the Amīr 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Khān of Afghānistān.

136. History of the Afgháns, by *I'timádu's-Saltána*, Minister of Sciences.

137. History of Napoleon the Great, translated by the above.

138. Jules Verne's *Round the World in eighty days*, translated by *Zaká'u'l-Mulk*.

139. Jules Verne's *Captain Hatteras*, translated by the same.

140. *Kulba-i-Hindl*, translated from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *La Chaumière Indienne* by the same.

141. '*Ishq u 'Iffat*, translated from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's "Love and Virtue" by the same.

142. *Jám-i-Jam* ("the World-revealing Goblet of Jamshíd"), an account of travels in India, by Sayyid 'Alí Khán *Wiqáru'l-Mulk*.

143. "Conversations of an Indian traveller," a political work, published by the *Hablu'l-Matin* office.

144. *Siyáhat-náma-i-Ibráhm Beg* (3 vols.), a clever satire on the methods of the old régime in Persia, by Hájjí Zaynu'l-'Ábidín of Marágha. The first volume has been translated into German under the title of *Reisebuch des Ibráhm Beg*.

145. *Sálar-náma* ("Book of Princes"), in verse, on the model of the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí, by Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán.

146. *History of Persia*, by the same.

147. *Gil Blas*, translated by Dr Muhammad of Kirmánsháh.

148. *Robinson [Crusoe]*, translated by Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí Khán of Tabriz, son of Hájjí Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh, the physician, of Khúy.

149. Collection of Treaties concluded between Persia and other States, by Mírzá Husayn Khán *Mu'tamanu'l-Mulk*, son of Mírzá Nasru'lláh Khán *Mushtru'd-Dawla*.

*Works by Muhammad Hasan Khán I'timádu's-Saltána  
of Marágha.*

150. *Hujjatu's-Sa'adat* ("the Proof of Happiness"), a history of the events in the world in A.H. 61 (= A.D. 680-1).

151. *History of Persia*, forming an Appendix to the Year-Book (*Sál-náma*) of A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875-6).

152. *Mir'ātu'l-Buldān* ("Mirror of the Lands"), a Geography of Persia in four volumes. Vol. I, published in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876), contains a detailed account of the Persian provinces, towns and villages which fall under the first five letters of the alphabet, arranged in alphabetical order. On reaching the article *Tihirān* in Vol. II (published in A.H. 1294 = A.D. 1877) the author gives a complete history of modern Persia during the last century, which history also fills the greater part of Vol. III, published in A.H. 1295 (= A.D. 1878). Vol. IV, published in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879), continues the geographical Index.

153. *Muntazam-i-Nāṣiri*, in 3 volumes, published in A.H. 1298, 1299 and 1300 (= A.D. 1881-3), is a Universal History, arranged in the form of Annals, extending from A.H. 1 to A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 622-1882).

154. *Maṭla'u'sh-Shams* ("the Rising of the Sun"), in 3 volumes, published in A.H. 1301-3 (= A.D. 1884-6), a detailed history and account of the city of Mashhad.

155. *Khayrāt<sup>un</sup> Hisān<sup>un</sup>*, a biography of celebrated women and an anthology of their poems, in 3 volumes, published in A.H. 1304-7 (= A.D. 1887-90).

156. *Al-Ma'āthir wa'l-Āthār* ("Monuments and Achievements"), an account of the institutions and achievements of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, containing also biographies of contemporary notables, divines and scholars.

157. *Duraru'l-Tijān* ("Pearls for Crowns"), a historical work.

158. A History of the Parthians (*Banī'l-Ashkān*), in 3 volumes, dated A.H. 1308-10 (= A.D. 1891-3).

159. *At-Tadwīn fī Jibālī Sharwīn*, an account of the Mountains of Sharwīn, published in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893-4).

160. Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, a story connected with the history of France, published in A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899-1900).

161. A History of the Sāsānian Kings of Persia, translated from Rawlinson's well-known work by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zakā'u'l-Mulk, in two volumes, published in A.H. 1314-15 (= A.D. 1896-8).

162. *Nāma-i-Dānishwarān* ("the Book of the Learned").

compiled by a committee of scholars consisting of Mīrzā Abū'l-Faẓl of Sāwa, Mīrzā Ḥasan of Tālaqān, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Qazwīn, known as "Mullā Āqā," and Muḥammad called al-Mahdī. This work, which was not completed, is a detailed Dictionary of Biography of the notable and eminent persons, men of letters, divines, philosophers, mystics, etc., who were most celebrated in Islām, and contains accounts of their biographies, adventures, characteristics and writings. Its publication was begun in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the supervision of 'Alī-qulī Mīrzā *I'timādū's-Saltāna*. On his death in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881), after the publication of two volumes, the editorial committee made over the supervision to Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān *I'timādū's-Saltāna*, so that the last five volumes (III-VII) were published as appendices to the Year Books (*Sāl-nāma*) of A.H. 1318, 1319, 1321, 1322 and 1323 (= A.D. 1900-5).

Here ends that which, with restricted facilities and defective materials, I have been able to collect in this brief summary, and I hope that the learned may make good its deficiencies and the discerning overlook its short-comings.



PART II

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Specimens of  
The Political and Patriotic Poetry  
of Modern Persia.

Compiled and translated

by

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

## (1)

THE first specimen given below belongs to a much earlier period than the remainder, for it was printed and published in London by Messrs W. H. Allen and Co. and R. J. Mitchell and Sons in 1882. It is taken from a *qasida* of 366 verses entitled "A London Sunlet" (*Shumaysa-i-Landaniyya*) composed by my old friend and first Persian teacher Mirzá Muhammad Bâqir of the district of Bawánát in Fârs, surnamed Ibrâhîm Jân Mu'attar. Of this remarkable and eccentric individual I have given some account in the first chapter of my *Year amongst the Persians*, published in 1893 by Messrs A. and C. Black (pp. 12-15), and I have there explained how he compelled me to read with great attention the extraordinary poem of which I subjoin a sample. Reading it again after the lapse of nearly thirty years, I cannot help being very much struck by its clear foreshadowing of the recent Anglo-Russian understanding, which at that time, midway between Plevna and Panj-dih, seemed of all things most improbable. In the rhymed translation which I have added to the original I have endeavoured to preserve as far as possible not only the sense of the latter, but its extraordinary half-prophetic half-punning style, which affords a strange mixture of rhapsody and lampoon, of grim jest and bitter earnest. The poem, which preserves the same rhyme throughout, is divided into two parts between verses 120 and 121, with which last I begin, selecting 29 verses out of the following 90 (*i.e.* between 121 and 211).

(از شُبیّه لندنیّه میرزا محمد باقر بوانانی)

- (۱۲۱) گوش! که بانگِ نفیر روس بر آمد' هوش! که گوش از خروش کوس کر آمد'  
 (۱۲۲) ولوله بر زن که صوتِ هلهله افزود' سلسله بنگن که فوتِ شیر نر آمد'  
 (۱۲۳) پیهنه قبیاق زبر دهنه قزاق' قلیم زخار آهنبین لیر آمد'



The Poet-Prophet Mirzá Muḥammad Bāqir (seated on left); his son Mirzá Isma'īl (standing on right); Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, afterwards Grand Mufti of Egypt (seated in middle); Hājjī Pir-zāda (seated on right); and Jemālu'd-Dīn Bey (standing on left)

The photograph was taken at Beyrout about 1885





- (۱۲۴) پشت اندر پشت و بر بیر همه هامون' از تخم زشت کشت با و سر آمد'
- (۱۲۶) چندان لشکر که گر ستاره بدیدی' گفتی زین دو کدام بی شهر آمد؟'
- (۱۲۸) از دیم قطب شمال تا پُل کابل' معرض گویال و گرز و پال و بر آمد'
- (۱۲۹) چین در ابرو گره بساعد و بازو' نر جیشان رخوه نر ختن حذر آمد'
- (۱۳۰) ای اسدِ خِر و یا خِر اسدین سر' خرس نگوید خر از اسد بتر آمد'
- (۱۳۱) نَرک چرا گوی و راه کوی و صحرا گیر' گرگ و ببر و پلنگ م کبر آمد'
- (۱۳۲) سنگ بهیجت بهیج نام نیرزید' شنگ و هجعت بهجنگ ننگ در آمد'
- (۱۳۸) های که رایت فرود ای شو قنقاس' مردی مردی از آنت این هنر آمد'
- (۱۴۰) هیهات هیهات وعدهای دروغین' آخرمان راست تا دم سفر آمد'
- (۱۴۱) افسوس افسوس لقمه در بِن دندان' و آواز حنر قنر لقمه خور آمد'
- (۱۵۲) همدت دادم که شکر گوئی و حمد' شکرَت بس نکر و حمد نوحه آمد'
- (۱۵۳) گفتم با روس چون عروس میآمیز' کاولادِ خرس وارث پدر آمد'
- (۱۵۴) از من گفتن و از تو بس نشنفتن' شزدنگ و دنگ! گفتگو هدر آمد'
- (۱۵۵) شرفت دادم که بی بری تو بنورم' نورم دیدی و ظلمت خیر آمد'

- (۱۶۷) خرمن پیدا شد از کناره کوهی ' وز دَغَرش دلیر مرا دَغَر آمد'  
 (۱۶۸) از دل و از جان بسوی خرس چنان شد ' کاینم محبوب و قِرینِ مستقر آمد'  
 (۱۶۹) وه وه زین جیش و خرامش و خوبی ' درخوردِ حلق گشتی نَسر آمد'  
 (۱۷۰) من شکر هند و یار شیر سرفند ' ترکیب این دوشیر در شکر آمد'  
 (۱۷۱) شیر جنوب این دلیر و خرسِ شمال آن ' کیست که با خرس و شیر هم دَغَر آمد'  
 (۱۷۲) این غرب و شرق هر دو زیرِ نگیش ' آن را خود شرق و غرب در زُکر آمد'  
 (۱۷۳) هر جا خرس است جای وحشت و ترس است ' هر جا شیر است لیر در فِتر آمد'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 (۱۷۵) انسانیت ز روی ارض بر افتاد ' جوانیت دو باره مُنْخَر آمد'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 (۱۸۶) کَبُرُوس که؟ که هنده عاشقِ روس است ' گاوِ بوس و کنار و بُز و بر آمد'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 (۲۰۴) ای خرس این شیر را بگیر و بیاموز ' از آن علمی که خرس را هنر آمد'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 (۲۱۰) وین خرس و شیر را ببرند بیانی ' کاتجا هر خرس و شیر چون سَغَر آمد'  
 (۲۱۱) چندی در خرس و در قنمشان دارند ' ناشان طبع در پی هرر آمد'

(Translation)

(121) Hark! the blare of Russian trumpets on the Northern breezes comes!

Heed ye! for the ears are deafened with the roar of Russian drums!

- (122) Weep and wail! the sounds of turmoil loud and ever  
louder rise:  
Shake thy chains and burst thy fetters, for the Lion  
surely dies!
- (123) 'Neath the hosts of savage Cossacks all the boundless  
Qipchâq Plain  
Seems a sea of iron billows, seems a roaring, surging  
main!
- (124) Back to back and breast to breast throughout that spacious  
Plain they stand,  
While an evil seed of severed heads and limbs fulfils  
the land.
- \* \* \* \*
- (126) Boundless, countless is their army, so that if the stars  
should see,  
They would ask, "Of these two armies which may claim  
infinity?"
- \* \* \* \*
- (128) Even from the Bridge of Kâbul to the regions of the  
Pole,  
Clubs and maces, chests and shoulders, in one seething  
eddy roll.
- (129) Frowning brows and knotted muscles doth each warrior  
display;  
Little do they care for China, little reckon they of Cathay!
- (130) Think ye, Lion-Ass, or Ass with Lion's head, that  
yonder Bear  
Doth not know the Ass will better yield to him the  
Lion's share?
- (131) Quit the grounds wherein you hunted; turn your steps  
to house and town,  
For the Tiger, Wolf and Leopard forces join to hunt  
you down!

- (132) Call the *Stone* whereon you stumble "*glad*": 'tis but an empty name!

And thy Beauty *Bright* is surely caught within the claws of shame<sup>1</sup>!

\* \* \* \*

- (138) Hail, thou great Caucasian Monarch! Full success attends thy plan!.

Such success is thine by virtue of the strength which makes a man!

\* \* \* \*

- (140) Welladay! Each lying promise, which, it seemed, would serve so well,

Now hath caught us, and hath brought us even to the gates of Hell!

- (141) Welladay! The toothsome morsel still within thy molars lies,

While the sounds of spades which dig the morsel-eater's grave arise,

\* \* \* \*

- (152) Graceless one! I gave thee India, seeking from thee prayer and laud,

But for praying heard but braying, and for laud got naught but bawd!

- (153) Did I not command thee, saying, "Mate not with the Russian Bear,

For the Russian parent's offspring is the Russian parent's heir"?

- (154) Mine it was to speak, and thine to lend an inattentive ear:

Mine to warn thee, thine to scorn me: mine to counsel, thine to jeer!

<sup>1</sup> Gladstone and Bright, the prototypes of our modern Rassophil Ministers, were, however, at once more magnanimous and more moderate than these, and Gladstone on occasion showed a firmness for which we look in vain in Sir Edward Grey.



- (155) I bestowed the East upon thee that thou might'st behold  
my Light:  
Thou didst see the Light, and turning didst prefer the  
mirk of night.
- \* \* \* \*
- (167) Sudden from a mountain fastness doth the grizzly Bear  
appear,  
And my Darling sees it, loves it, swoons away with  
passion sheer.
- (168) Heart and soul fulfilled with longing, to the Bear she  
draweth nigh,  
Saying, "This is my beloved, this the Apple of mine  
Eye!"
- (169) See her form so sleek and comely! See the beauty  
of her gait!  
Worthy such a dainty morsel for the jaws which it  
await!
- (170) "I," said she, "am India's sugar, he the milk of Samar-  
qand:  
"We shall mix like milk and sugar, we shall travel  
hand in hand!"
- (171) "I the Lion of the South, and he the valiant Northern  
Bear:  
"Who shall venture to oppose us when together forth  
we fare?"
- (172) Subject to the former's sceptre are the realms of West  
and East:  
East and West lie in the pouch and pocket of the  
second Beast.
- (173) Where the Bear is, there is terror, there are cruelty  
and fear:  
Where the Lion is the powers of nerve and muscle  
disappear.
- \* \* \* \*

- (175) From the face of earth all human kindliness hath passed  
away:

Brutish cruelty becomes once more the order of the day.

\* \* \* \*

- (186) Where is Cyrus, now that India's sick with love for  
Russia's sake?

Let them kiss and hug each other, ere they share the  
stolen cake!

\* \* \* \*

- (204) Come, O Bear, and take this Lion: lead her to thy  
dismal lair,

There to teach her all the arts which make the cunning  
of the Bear.

\* \* \* \*

- (210) Till at length there cometh one to take them both  
unto a place

Where like conies they shall shiver, threatened by a  
stronger race.

- (211) There shall they be held in bondage in a prison and  
a cage,

Till unto a milk-like mildness turns their roughness and  
their rage!

(2)

The second specimen, published in No. 4 of the *Šār-i-Isrāfil* ("Trumpet-call of Isrāfil") of June 20, 1907, refers to an event which happened at Qúchán in Khurásán on the Russo-Persian frontier a year or two previously<sup>1</sup>, when a number of the inhabitants, including several young girls, were carried off by Turkmāns subject to Russia, with the connivance, it was asserted, of *Aṣafu'd-Dawla* and the governor of Burūjird, who was subsequently tried for this offence.

<sup>1</sup> "Cyrus" typifies Persia, which, I take it, is also intended by "the stolen cake."

<sup>2</sup> I think in November, 1905. See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 111.

This ballad bears the following superscription:

*Persian Concert, which the girls of Qūchān, at the request of the Russians and Turkmāns, give in a Café chantant at Tiflis.*

*Girls, in chorus, to the tune of the tasnif (ballad)*

- "Ay Khudā, Laylā yār-i-mā nīst!"  
("O God, Laylā is not our friend!")

(1)

بزرگانِ جبلگی مستِ غرورند (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
ز اصف و مروّت سخت دورند (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
رعیتِ بی سواد و گنگ و کورند (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست  
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست

(2)

فلک دبدی بها آخر چها کرد (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
ز خویش و اقربا مارا جدا کرد (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
چنا بیند که با ما این چنا کرد (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست  
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست

(3)

گر از کوی وطن مهور مانندم (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
و گر از هجر او رنجور مانندم (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
نه پنداری ز عشقش دور مانندم (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست  
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست

(۴)

(يك دختر دوازده ساله تنها)

نفس در سینه ساکت شو که گوئی ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

نسیم از کوی ما آورده بوئی ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

چه بوئی دلکش آن م از چه گوئی ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست

ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست'

(۵)

(دخترها م آواز)

نسیم بوم ما بس جانفزا بود ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هوايش روح بخش و غم زدا بود ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

ولی دردا که هجرش در قفا بود ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست

ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست'

(۶)

مگر مردان ما را خواب برده ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

غیوران وطن را آب برده ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

که اغیار آب از احباب برده ' (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)

هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست

ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست'



(۷)

(دختر دوازده ساله تنها)

که خواهد برد تا مجلس بیام  
(خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
که ای دل برده تا داده کام  
(خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
چرا شد محو از یاد تو نام  
(خدا کی فکر ما نیست)  
هفته و هزده و نوزده و بیست  
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست

(جغد)

(تماشایان بهیئت اجتماع)

هورا هورا هورا! اسلاوا گرانی وز نیم دویست سام پرسی!  
اسلاوا آصف الدوله! اسلاوا مینست و پرسی!  
باشا سون ایران گوزل قزلی! باشا سون آصف الدوله!  
باشا سون ملت وزیرلی!

(Translation)

(۱)

(The girls, in chorus)

"Our nobles all are drunk with pride,  
(O God, nobody cares for us!)  
From justice and virtue they stand aside, (O God, etc.)  
Dumb, blind, untaught the people abide, (O God, etc.)  
One seven, one eight, one nine, two naught:  
No one of us taketh heed or thought!

## (2)

"Thou seest how Heaven with us doth play,  
*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*  
 From kith and kin we are torn away; *(O God, etc.)*  
 The ill that is wrought us shall ill repay! *(O God, etc.)*  
*One seven, one eight, etc.*

## (3)

"Though exiled far from our home so dear,  
*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*  
 And plunged by exile in sorrow and fear, *(O God, etc.)*  
 We love it and dream of it ever here! *(O God, etc.)*  
*One seven, one eight, etc.*

## (4)

*(A girl of twelve, solo)*

"Pause, O breath in my breast: meseems  
*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*  
 That the breeze with the scents of the home-land teems:  
*(O God, etc.)*  
 What delicate scent from what land of dreams! *(O God, etc.)*  
*One seven, one eight, etc.*

## (5)

*(The girls, in chorus)*

"Sweet doth the breeze from the home-land smell!  
*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*  
 Life doth it give and grief dispel! *(O God, etc.)*  
 But alas, for of exile it speaks as well! *(O God, etc.)*  
*One seven, one eight, etc.*

## (6)

"Sleep hath o'ercome our men I ween,  
*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*  
 And blunted our townsmen's honour keen, *(O God, etc.)*  
 And our friends dishonoured by foes have been! *(O God, etc.)*  
*One seven, one eight, etc.*

## (7)

*(The girl of twelve, solo)*

"Who to the *Majlis* a message will bear

*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*

Of heart's surrender and hope's despair?

*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*

Is our name remembered no longer there?

*(O God, nobody cares for us!)*

*One seven, one eight, one nine, two naught:*

*No one of us taketh heed or thought!"*

The spectators in unison:

*"Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah!"*

*Slava gratsionimdyevitsam Persii! Yāshāsūn Īrānīn gyuzel qīlārī!*

*Slava Āṣafu'd-Dawla! Yāshāsūn Āṣafu'd-Dawla!*

*Slava Ministyerstvū Persii! Yāshāsūn millet vesīrleri!*

*(In Russian and Turkish.)*

"Long live the pretty girls of Persia! Long live Āṣafu'd-Dawla!

Long live the Persian Ministry!"

## (3)

The following poem, like the last, is taken from the *Šar-i-Isrāfil* for November 20, 1907. The "Kablā'i" to whom it is addressed is taken by some to refer to the poet himself, but by others to the ex-Shah, Muḥammad 'Alī, who was at that time the ruler of Persia. The word "Kablā'i" or "Kablāy" is a popular abbreviation of *Karbālā'i*, a title given to those who have visited the holy tombs of Karbalā in Turkish Arabia; just as one who has visited Mashhad is entitled "*Mashhadī*," and one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, "*Hājjī*." The two former titles, however, are seldom used except by muleteers, tradespeople, and others of humble condition, and "*Kablāy*" especially has come to be used colloquially in a somewhat familiar or even contemptuous way, as though we should call a man whose name was unknown to us "Johnnie." The original poem is slangy,

and this feature I have endeavoured to preserve in the translation, which is somewhat freer than the preceding ones.

## (۱)

مردود خدا رانده هر بنده آکلای  
از دلفك معروف نماینده آکلای  
با شوخی و با مسخره و خنده آکلای  
نر مرده گذشتی و نه از زنده آکلای  
هستی نو چه بکپهلو و يك دنده آکلای

## (۲)

نه بیم ز کت بین و نه جن گیر و نه رمال  
نه خوف ز درویش و نه از جذبه نه از حال  
نه ترس ز تکه پیر و نه از پشتو شیشال  
مشکل بیری گور سر زنده آکلای  
هستی نو چه بکپهلو و يك دنده آکلای

## (۳)

صد بار نگفتم که خیال تو محالست  
تا بعمی ازین طائفه محسوس جوالست  
ظاهر شود اسلام درین قوم خیالست  
هی باز برفت حرف پراکنده آکلای  
هستی نو چه بکپهلو و يك دنده آکلای

## (۴)

گاهی به بر و پاچه درویش پردی گه برده صاعقلوق آخوند دریدی  
اسرار نهان را همه در صور دیدی زودر بایبی یعنی چه پوست کنده آکلای  
هستی نو چه بکپهلو و يك دنده آکلای



(5)

از گرسنگی مرد رعیت بجهنم<sup>1</sup>    و نیست درین قوم معیت بجهنم<sup>1</sup>  
 نریاک برید عرقی حبت بجهنم<sup>1</sup>    خوش باش تو با مطرب و سازنده آکلای<sup>1</sup>  
 هستی تو چه بکپهلو و یک دنده آکلای<sup>1</sup>

(6)

تو منتظری رشوه در ابران رود از یاد<sup>1</sup>    آخوند ز قانون و ز عیله شود شاد<sup>1</sup>  
 اسلام ز رمال و ز مرشد شود آزاد<sup>1</sup>    یک دفعه بگو مرده شود زنده آکلای<sup>1</sup>  
 هستی تو چه بکپهلو و یک دنده آکلای<sup>1</sup>

(Translation)

(1)

"Rejected by men and by God the Forgiving, O Kablāy!  
 You're a wonderful sample of riotous living, O Kablāy!  
 You're a wag, you're a joker, no end to your fun,  
 Of living and dead you are sparing of none,  
 Such a limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablāy!

(2)

"Neither wizard, diviner nor warlock you fear, O Kablāy!  
 Nor the dervish's prayer, nor the dreams of the Seer, O Kablāy!  
 Nor Shapshāl's<sup>1</sup> revolver, nor *mujtahid's* rage:  
 'Tis hard to believe you will die of old age,  
 You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablāy!

(3)

"Times a hundred I've told you your project will fail, O Kablāy!  
 While half of the nation are wrapped in a veil<sup>2</sup>, O Kablāy!  
 Can Islām in you and your circle prevail?  
 With fresh words of folly your friends you'll regale,  
 You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablāy!

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Shapshāl Khān, the Russian agent provocateur, see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 105, 130, 170-1, 198-202, 207, 279, 324 and 418-420.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the women.

## (4)

"At the heels of the dervish you bark and you bite, O Kabláy!  
 Break the Dominic's windows<sup>1</sup> and let in the light, O Kabláy!  
 While this trumpet<sup>2</sup> of yours doth all secrets proclaim;  
 Yes, blazon them forth, for what know you of shame?  
 You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

## (5)

"To hell with the folk, if with hunger they pine, O Kabláy!  
 Devil take them, the brutes, since they cannot combine,  
 O Kabláy!  
 Since opium hath stolen their courage away,  
 With your minstrels and singers be merry and gay,  
 You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!

## (6)

"In Persia will bribes ever go out of fashion, O Kabláy?  
 Will the *mullás* for justice develop a passion, O, Kabláy?  
 From magic and *murshids*<sup>3</sup> can Islám win free?  
 Bid the dead come to life, for 'twill easier be,  
 You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kabláy!"

## (4)

The following poem, by Ashraf of Gllán, is of a much more classical type than the last, and is what is called a *mustavád*. It appeared in No. 9 of the *Nasím-i-Shimál* ("Breeze of the North"), published at Rasht on January 2, 1908. Part of it only is translated as a specimen.

<sup>1</sup> The Turkish word *büğbüzlük* means a window covered with paper instead of glass.

<sup>2</sup> This is an allusion to the paper *Şur-i-İsrâfil* or "Trumpet of Isráfil," in which this poem appeared.

<sup>3</sup> Spiritual guides.



The Poet Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Din of Gilan





- ۱ گردید وطن غرقه اندوه و محن وای ایوای وطن وای
- خیزید روید از پی نابوت و کفن وای ایوای وطن وای
- ۲ از خون جوانان که شده گشته درین راه رنگین طبعی ماه خونین شده صحرا و تل و دشت و دمن وای ایوای وطن وای
- ۳ کو همت و کو غیرت و کو جوش فتوت دردا که رسید از دو طرف سهل فتن وای کو جش ملت ایوای وطن وای
- ۴ افسوس که اسلام شده از همه جانب مشروطه ایران شده تاریخ زمن وای پیامال اجانب ایوای وطن وای
- ۵ تنها نه همین گشت وطن ضایع و بدنام کهنام شد اسلام بزمرد شده این باغ و گل و سرو و سمن وای ایوای وطن وای
- ۶ بلبل نسرد نام گل از واهمه هرگز سرخند ازین غصه سیدات چین وای لرگس شده قرمز ایوای وطن وای
- ۷ بعضی وزرا مسلکشان راهزنی شد گشته علما غرقه درین لای و لجن وای سرری عالی شد ایوای وطن وای
- ۸ سوزد جگر از ماتم خلخال خداها يك جامه ندارند رعیت بدت وای محشر شده آبا ایوای وطن وای
- ۹ گاهی خبر آرند که سرعصر رومی گاهمی خبر آرند که سرعصر رومی آمد با رومی ایوای وطن وای
- ۱۰ افسوس ازین خاک گهرخیز گهرزرا گه آستره ویران شده از شاهسون وای گردید مجزاً ایوای وطن وای
- ۱۱ کو بلخ و بخارا و چه شد خبوه و کابل از چار طرف خاک به از مشک ختن وای کو بابل و زابل ایوای وطن وای
- شام و حلب و ارمن و عمان و عدن وای ایوای وطن وای

- ۱۲ بر منظره قصر زر اندود و مطرا جفاست صف آرا  
 بنشته درین بوم و دمن زاغ و زغن وای ایوای وطن وای  
 ۱۳ یک ذره ز ارباب ندیده است معیت بیچاره رعیت  
 کارش همه قریاد حسین وای حسن وای ایوای وطن وای  
 ۱۴ اشرف بجز از لاله غم هیچ نبود هر لحظه بگوید  
 ایوای وطن وای وطن وای وطن وای ایوای وطن وای

(فتبر)

## (Translation)

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| 1 Our country is flooded with sorrow<br>and woe,<br>Arise, and for coffin and cerements<br>go!       | O, for our land woe! |
| 2 With the blood of our sons for the<br>fatherland shed<br>Hill, plain and garden blood-red<br>glow: | O, for our land woe! |
| 3 Where are zeal and courage and<br>strife,<br>The floods of trouble around us flow!                 | O, for our land woe! |
| 4 Foreigners trample on every side<br>Of our Freedom naught but the<br>name they know:               | O, for our land woe! |
| 5 Not only our land is lost and mis-<br>named;<br>E'en the flowers in the garden<br>stunted grow:    | O, for our land woe! |
| 6 The nightingale dares not to sing of<br>the rose:<br>And red the lily-white flowrets blow,         | O, for our land woe! |
| 7 Some of our statesmen are brigands<br>sheer;<br>And the priests to follow them are<br>not slow:    | O, for our land woe! |

- 8 For Khalkhâl's sake are our hearts  
in gloom: 'tis the Day of Doom!  
Not even a shirt hath the peasant  
to show: O, for our land woe!
- 9 To Urmi the Turkish commander,  
we hear, Swift draws near,  
While at Astara Shahsevens strike  
a blow! O, for our land woe!
- 10 Alas for our pearl-bearing, pearl-  
raising land Partition is planned,  
Though its dust be more fragrant  
than musk, I trow; O, for our land woe!
- \* \* \* \*

## (5)

The following poem, also by Ashraf, and also published in the *Nasim-i-Shimal* (No. 10, dated January 20, 1908), is similar to the last, and is also a *mustazâd*. The allusions in verse 5 are to some of the chief newspapers published at that time, and those in verses 9 to 12 to events connected with what I have called "the abortive *Coup d'État*" of December, 1907. (See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 162 *et seqq.*) The pessimistic strain which characterizes the last poem is also apparent in this.

- ۱ دوش می گفت این سخن دیوانه بی باز خواست درد ایران بیدواست
- ۲ عاقلی گفتا که از دیوانه بشنو حرف راست درد ایران بیدواست
- ۳ مملکت از چار سو در حال بجران و خطر چون مریض محتضر
- ۴ با جیت دستور این رنجور معبور از شفاست درد ایران بیدواست
- ۵ پادشاه هر ضلّ مملّت مملّت اندر ضدّ شاه زین مصیبت آه آه
- ۶ چون خضبت بنگری م این خطا م آن خطاست درد ایران بیدواست
- ۷ هر کسی با هر کسی خصم است و بدخواه است و ضدّ گوید او را مستدّ
- ۸ با چنین شکل ای بسا خونها هدر جانها هباست درد ایران بیدواست
- \* \* \*

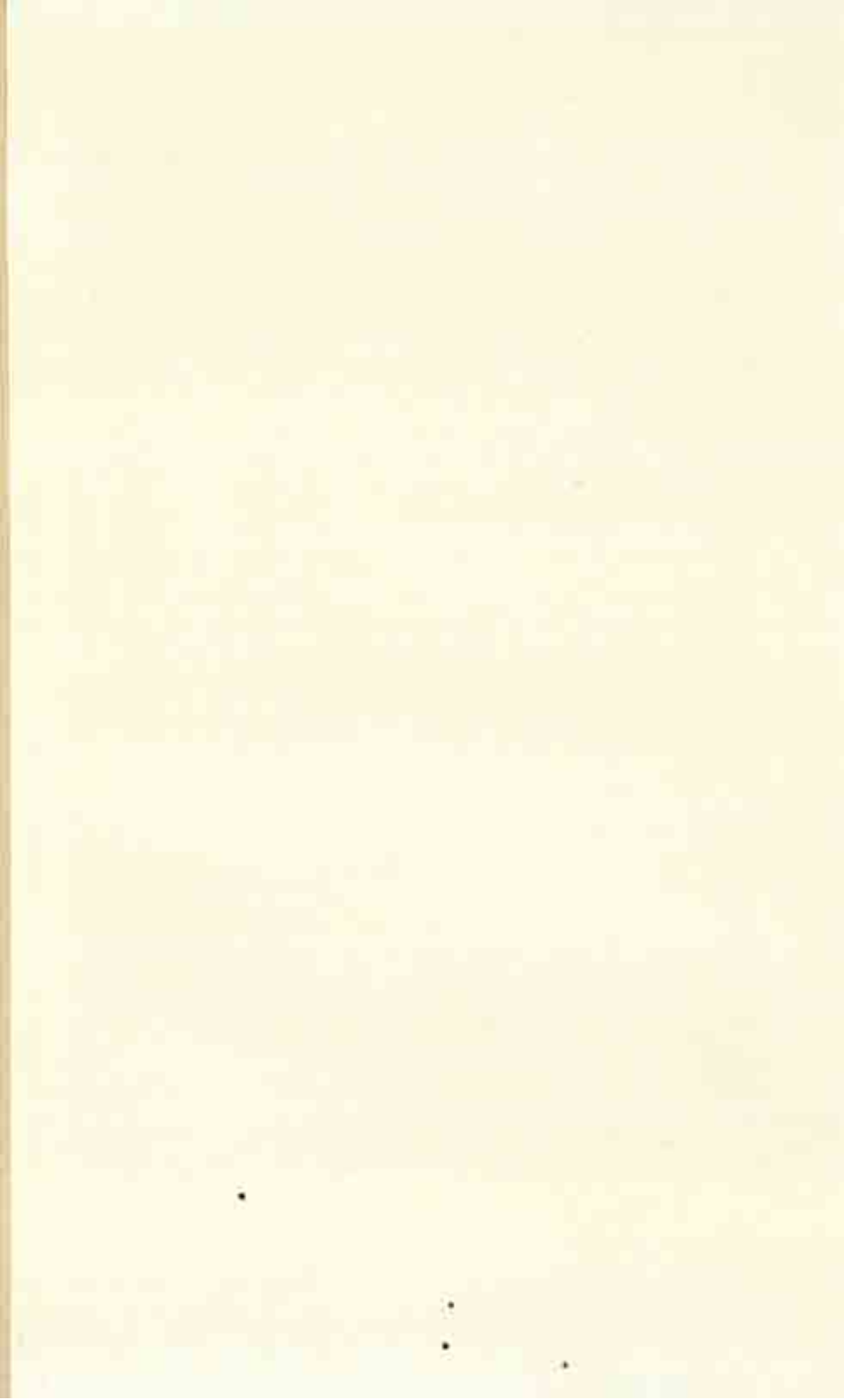
- ۵ صور اسرافیل زد صبح سعادت در دمید  
ملا نصر الدین رسید  
مجلس و حل المبین سوی عدالت رهنماست<sup>۱</sup>  
درد ایران یدواست  
۶ با وجود این چراید خفته بیدار نیست  
بک رنگی هشیار نیست  
این چراید همچو شیور و فقیر و کزناست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۷ شکر می کردم جمعی کارها مشروطه شد  
مملکت مشروطه شد  
باز می بینم آن کاسه است و آن آتش است و ماست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۸ با خرد گفتم که آخر چاره این کار چیست  
عقل قاطع هم گریست  
بعد آه و ناله گفتا چاره در دست خداست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۹ شیخ فضل الله بک مو آملی از بک طرف<sup>۲</sup>  
بهر ملت بسته صف  
چار سمت نوبخانه حربگاه شیخ ماست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۱۰ هیچ دانی قصه قاطرچی درین هنگامه چیست  
یاری اسلام نیست  
منظیر او ساعت است و کیف و زنجیر طلاست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۱۱ محبت مژوی پر از اشبار غارتگر شده  
مدرسه سنگر شده  
روح واقف در بهشت ازین مصیبت در عزاست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۱۲ نو نبداری قنبل دسته قاطرچیان  
خویشان رفت از میان  
وعده گاه انتقام اشفیا روز جزاست  
درد ایران یدواست  
۱۳ اشرفا هرکس درین مشروطه جانازی نبود  
رفعت و قدرش فرود  
در جزا استرقی جنات عدنش متکاست<sup>۳</sup>  
درد ایران یدواست

(فغبر)

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Shaykh Fazlullah of Nūr, see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 113, 148-9, 243, 262, and 444-5. By "Amul" is meant Mullā Mahammad of Amul, *pishnamā* of the Masjid-i-Maruf, another noted reactionary priest.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Qur'an, xviii. 30; lv. 54.







The great Constitutional *Mujtahid* Mulla Muhammad  
Kazim al-Khurasani in A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906)

امروز نگهبان خلائق علما اند

## (6)

The following poem is from the same paper (No. 11, January 31, 1908) as the two last, and is, I think, also by Ashraf, since it bears the signature *Faqir*, which he elsewhere uses. He appeals to the '*ulamā*' (or so-called "clergy"), the Deputies and the Shāh (Muḥammad 'Alī) to observe the Constitution, enforce the law, and guard the country from the designs of foreign foes, "the Turk, the Two-headed Bird (*i.e.* eagle), the Bear and the Old Dog," and the Shī'ite faith from its Sunni adversaries.

امروز جو ما هیچ کس انگشت نما نیست      زیرا که کی جاهل و بی‌علم جو ما نیست  
در علم و صنایع همگی عاجز و لنگیم      در مغلطه و فتنه و آشوب زرنگیم  
بر جانِ م افتاده شب و روز بجنگیم      شری ز کلام الله و نبی ز خدا نیست  
ایںک کلماتِ علما نصی صریح است      بر اینک بنرد علما ظلم قبیح است  
مشروطه جو در عقل و جو در شرع صحیح است      هر کس کند انکار ز جمیع عقلا نیست  
افسوس که از ناله و فریاد اثر رفت      م زحمتِ اربابِ جرابِ بهدر رفت  
مشروطه درین ملک بمحوشد و ز سر رفت      چون صحتِ این دوره بغیر از من و ما نیست  
زود ای علما مرکبِ مشروطه برانید      دادِ دلِ مظلوم ز ظالم بشانید  
هان ای وگلا قدرِ چنین روز بدانید      زیرا کی امروز باعزازِ شما نیست  
مشروطه درختِ پُر از میوه و اثمار      عدلیه و انصاف و مساوات ورا بار  
قانونِ اساسی است درو ناظرِ هر کار      فرقی بمیانِ غنی و شاه و گدا نیست  
امروز نگهبانِ خلافتِ علما اند      بعد از علما حافظِ ملت وگلا اند  
منول بهر جرئی و کئی وزرا اند      در صحتِ مشروطه دگر چون و چرا نیست

امسال دو سالست که مشروطه شد ایران      بر شد در و دیوار ز شننامه و اعلان  
 کو بگری قانون وجه شد همت مردان؟      افسوس که مارا هوس صلح و صدا نیست  
 هر عقل که فرمانبر افسونگر و فالست      هر مغز که از جرس بنکرست و خیالست  
 هر ملک که علمش همگی فال و منالست      قانون بچنین مملکتی راهنا نیست  
 احوال ارومیه اگر مرده شنیدی      در قبر ز غیرت کفن خویش دریدی  
 از دیده ارواح همه خون بچکید      در خلد بجز زمزمه و وطن نیست  
 از چار طرف سیل بلا گشته سرازیر      عثمانی و مرغ دوسر و خرس و سنگ پیر  
 شاهان مگر از مملکت خود شده سیر؟      بی قیدی و اعمال باین پایه سزا نیست  
 ای خسرو مشروطه طلب شاه دل آگاه      میسند که از لطمه عثمانی بد خواه  
 مسوخ شود لفظ عَلِيًّا وَلِيَّ اللَّهِ      شاهان بخدا صبر ازین بیش روا نیست  
 (فقیر)

## (7)

The following poem is also by Ashraf, but it is placed in the mouth of an imaginary reactionary, grotesquely named (as Morier named his characters "Mullá Nádán," "Mirzá Ahmaq," etc.) "Kharáb-'Alí Mirzá," who is supposed to reproach Ashraf for his enthusiasm for the Constitution. I have appended a prose rendering.

اشرف ازین بیش جسارت مکن	در سر مشروطه لجاجت مکن
با همه خلق من خصم و ضد	می تشوم با احدی متحد
مستبدم مستبدم مستبد	هیچ بمشروطه تو دعوت مکن
مطربکا خیز بز جنگ و رود	ساقبکا باده بده زود زود
دولت اگر رفت غم زنود	صحت عثمانی و دولت مکن



میخورم از خون رعیت شراب	میکم از گوشت رعیت کباب
هیچ ترسم ز عذاب و عتاب	وعدۀ بفرمای قیامت مکن
تکیه بر اقوال فرنگان مزن	دم ز مکاتیب دبستان مزن
طعنۀ تو بر کینه پرستان مزن	ذوق ز بیداری ملت مکن
من چه کم خصم شدۀ تر دماغ	رخه نموده است درین باغ و راغ
زیر و زبر شد همه ساوجبلاغ	گریه بر احوال رعیت مکن
رفت ارومۀ خراسان بس است	آن هم اگر رفت صناهان بس است
هیچ نباشد خود طهران بس است	اشرف ازین بیش شرارت مکن

(امضای خرابعلی میرزا)

*(Prose Translation)*

"O Ashraf, be no longer over-bold! Be not so insistent about the Constitution!

I am an adversary and enemy to all the people; I will not unite with any one;

I am a Reactionary, a Reactionary, a Reactionary! Do not thou preach Constitutionalism!

O little minstrel, arise, strike the harp and the lute! O little cup-bearer, give wine quickly!

If the Empire is lost, to Hell with it! Prate not of the Turk and the Empire!

I drink for wine the blood of the people; I eat for roast meat the flesh of the people;

I have no fear of torment and retribution; do not put me off with threats of to-morrow's Resurrection!

Put not thy trust in the words of the Franks; talk not of the maxims of the schools;

Do not find fault with such as love the ancient ways; do not exult in the awakening of the Nation!

What can I do? the enemy is sharp-witted? He has broken into this garden and meadow:

All Sâwujbulâgh is topsy-turvy. Weep not over the people's condition!

If Urûmiyya is gone, Khurâsân is enough; if that too goes, Isfahân is enough;

If naught else be left, Tîhrân itself is enough! O Ashraf, work no further mischief!"

## (8)

Dakhaw, to whom the following poem (published in the *Nasim-i-Shimal* of March 5, 1908) is ascribed, is best known for his contributions to the *Šûr-i-Isrâfîl*, and especially for the weekly column entitled *Charand-parand* ("Charivari"). His real name was 'Alî Akbar, and his *nom de guerre*, "*Dakhaw*," is a local form (used at Qazwîn, his native town) of *Dih-khudd* ("the villager," "rustic" or "squireen").

## مکتوب قزوین

۱. بعش می رسد امروز الامانِ دَخَوُ بسوخت از غم مشروطه اخوانِ دَخَوُ
۲. دراین ولایت قزوین ز ظلم استبداد ز یاد رفت بسیکمار خانمانِ دَخَوُ
۳. جو گشت تیر مشروطه طالع از ایران بگشت روشن از اشراقِ او روانِ دَخَوُ
۴. طلوع کرد جو خورشید (گشتی توسیون) همیشه صحتِ او بود بر زبانِ دَخَوُ
۵. بریده باد زبانه کنون که می شنوم خلل فتاده پارکبانِ دَخَوُ
۶. نهاده پای مجلس سفیر استبداد وزیده باد خرابی به بوستانِ دَخَوُ
۷. میانه و کلا اجنبی نهاده قدم شکسته نسترن و سرو و ارغوانِ دَخَوُ
۸. خدا نکرده اگر پارلمان خلل یابد ز زند اهل غرض شعله ها بجایِ دَخَوُ
۹. فکند آتشِ ظلم و عناد و استبداد امام جمعه قزوین بدودمانِ دَخَوُ
۱۰. از ظلم و کینه این مستبد میش نه! سنگ کرده اثر ناله و فغانِ دَخَوُ
۱۱. یکی ز حلقه یگوشان اشرف الدینم اگر که درج شود شعرِ خونشانِ دَخَوُ

*(Prose Translation)*

- (1) "To-day the appeal of Dakhaw ascends to the Throne of God; with grief for the Constitution the bones of Dakhaw are burned.
- (2) In this land of Qazwin, through the tyranny of Despotism, the household of Dakhaw is utterly forgotten.
- (3) When the luminary of the Constitution arose from Persia the spirit of Dakhaw was illuminated by its dawning.
- (4) When the Sun of the Constitution arose talk of it was ever on Dakhaw's tongue.
- (5) May my tongue be cut out now that I hear that harm befalls the pillars of the Parliament!
- (6) The ambassador of Autocracy hath set his foot in the *Majlis*; an autumnal blast hath blown over Dakhaw's garden.
- (7) The foreigner hath stepped into the midst of the Deputies; Dakhaw's gelder-rose and cypress and Judas-tree are broken!
- (8) If (which God forbid!) the Parliament suffers hurt, Dakhaw's enemies will set fire to his soul.
- (9) The *Imam-Junta* (Chief Priest) of Qazwin hath cast the fire of tyranny, malice and despotism on the family of Dakhaw.
- (10) On account of the tyranny and spite of this autocrat in sheep's clothing the wailing and lamentations of Dakhaw affect the very stones.
- (11) I will become one of the humble servants of Ashrafu'd-Din if this piteous poem of Dakhaw's should be inserted [in his paper]."

## (9)

The following poem, which, like No. 7, is cast in the form of a letter of remonstrance emanating from an imaginary reactionary, is also by Ashraf, and appeared in No. 16 of the second year of the *Nasim-i-Shimal*, on April 14, 1908.

## (مکوب)

- ۱ اشرفا این ناله و فریاد چیست از برای خلق آه و داد چیست
- ۲ فاش بر گو گیتی تو جیتی یحیی با ده منی با بیستی
- ۳ گر که این شهر و وطن را آب برد تو بفین می دان که مارا خواب برد
- ۴ روزنامه چیست این هنگامه چیست فکر کاری کن که صحت فقط نیست
- ۵ روس و ژاپن بهر ما ناید بکار با پروس و آلمان مارا چه کار
- ۶ نیز مشروطه ساطع شد چه شد آفتاب علم طالع شد چه شد
- ۷ می کنی ترغیب و تحریص شدید کودکان را بر مکانیسی جدید
- ۸ گاه میخواهی بهر شهر و دیار یک معلم خانه سازی استوار
- ۹ حیف از طایفی که بر مکنب رود طفل باید کجوجه بر کجوجه رود
- ۱۰ طفل باید بادهای بازی کند طفل باید شیر و خط بازی کند
- ۱۱ طفل باید پای ملا بشکند روز و شب با سنگ سرها بشکند
- ۱۲ طفل باید بپلوان سنگ زن بدتر از گربه بصورت جنگ زن
- ۱۳ روز این اطفال را چون شب مکن نام زندان خانه را مکنب مکن
- ۱۴ چون بزیر خاک بگزارندمان انگلیسی نیست مارا ترجمان
- ۱۵ از برای ما همان قرآن پس است پای تخت شاهرا طهران پس است
- ۱۶ گر هجوم آور شده سبل بلا غم محور چون الیلا لیلولا
- ۱۷ گر در این دنیا ذلیل ای عمو لیک در محشر جلیلیم ای عمو
- ۱۸ یا قلم بر گردن ما حک مزین روی بامر شیخنا تسک مزین
- ۱۹ اشرفا ترغیب بر صحت مکن از علوم خارجه صحت مکن

۲۰ نرم آخر بشکندت پا و دست

فال بین و مرشد و ماضی پرست







Amenities of Muslim family life

(From *Mullā Nāṣir-i-Dīn*, No. 20, June 1, 1907)

(Prose Translation)

- (1) "O Ashraf, what is this outcry and lamentation? What is this sighing and crying for the people?"
- (2) Speak out plainly: who and what are you? Are you [a man of] one maund, or ten maunds, or twenty?
- (3) Even if the flood carries away this city and land, know for a surety that sleep overpowers us.
- (4) What is the newspaper? What is this disturbance? Think of some action, for there is no dearth of talents.
- (5) Russia and Japan are nothing to us! What have we to do with Prussia and Germany?
- (6) If the luminary of the Constitution hath shone forth, what is that [to us]? If the Sun of Knowledge hath arisen, what is that [to us]?
- (7) You vehemently urge and incite the children to [attend] the new schools;
- (8) Then you desire in every town and district to establish a teachers' college.
- (9) Alas for the child who goes to school! A child should run about the streets:
- (10) A child should make kites: a child should play pitch and toss:
- (11) A child should break the *mulla's* ankles: a child should break [people's] heads with stones.
- (12) A child should be an adept at stone-throwing: a child should be worse than a cat at face-scratching.
- (13) Do not make these children's days more gloomy than nights! Do not call a prison a school!
- (14) When they consign us to the earth, English will not serve to interpret our thoughts<sup>1</sup>!
- (15) This *Qur'ân* is sufficient for us: Tih-rân is sufficient for the Shâh's capital!
- (16) If the floods of misfortune attack us, grieve not, for 'misfortune is love's portion!'

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the "Questioning of the Tomb," when the angels Munkir and Nakir come to the dead man and examine him as to his faith. Naturally he will be expected to reply to them in Arabic, or some other Musulimân language.

- (17) If I am abased in this world, O uncle, yet shall I be glorified in the Resurrection, O uncle!
- (18) Smite us not on the neck with thy pen! Beat not the drum on the roof of our Shaykh!
- (19) O Ashraf, do not urge us to [cultivate] Art! Do not talk to us about foreign sciences!
- (20) I fear that in the end the sooth-sayer, the spiritual director and the admirer of ancient fashions will break your feet and hands!"

## (10)

The following poem is another of those abounding with slang. It appeared in No. 18 of the *Nasim-i-Shiml*, dated May 11, 1908.

تا کله شجنا ملنگ است'    تا در دل ما غبار و زنگ است'  
 تا پیر دلیل مست و منگ است'    تا رشته بدست این دینگ است'  
 این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است'

تا مصدر کار مستعد است'    تا دل بنفاق مستعد است'  
 تا ملت ما بشاه ضد است'    تا شاه بخائنین مُهد است'  
 جان کدن و سغی ما جنگ است'  
 این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است'

گفتیم قلم شده است آزاد'    ایران خرابه گشته آباد'  
 مشروطه قوی نموده بنیاد'    بر مدرسه‌ها شدست ایجاد'  
 افسوس که شیشه‌مان بستگ است'  
 این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است'

مشروطه نشانه ترقی است'    مجلس م خانه ترقی است'  
 این شعله زبانه ترقی است'    این شعر ترانه ترقی است'  
 اسلام چرا دوجار ننگ است'  
 این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است'





دستور العمل را در این تصویر نموده است که شروع مطالب را خلاصه سازد

Sayyid Muhammad Yazdi teaching the *finnis* how to overthrow the Constitution  
(From the illustrated comic weekly *Jahangyran*, No. 17, Oct. 11, 1907)



خر صاحب اختیار گشته ' سگِ مصرِ کار و بار گشت'  
 روه عظمت مدار گشته ' شیشال خربندار گشته'  
 شهمات و بختی عرصه تنگ است  
 این قافله نا بحشر لنگ است  
 من بعد شود جهان گلستان ' در صحن سرا و باغ و بستان'  
 مشروطه شود هزار دستان ' شاعر بمزار هجو مستان'  
 تیرش ز نشاط بر خدنک است  
 این قافله نا بحشر لنگ است

The following rhymed translation of the first, second, third and fifth stanzas of the above poem may suffice to give some idea of its structure and the arrangements of the rhymes.

(Translation)

(1)

While addled in our reverend master's pate,  
 And dust and rust our spirits obfuscate,  
 And drunk and dizzy's he who guides our fate,  
 And this old humbug still directs our gait  
 Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(2)

Vainly our lives to hardship we expose  
 While in each heart the fire of hatred glows:  
 For while the Nation doth the Sháh oppose,  
 And while the Sháh supports the Nation's foes,  
 And while Reaction dominates the State  
 Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(3)

We say that now at last the Press is free,  
 That Persia shall regain prosperity,  
 That firmly based is now our Liberty,  
 That colleges abound increasingly.  
 Bottle and stone best typify our state!  
 Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(5)

An ass becomes our arbiter supreme,  
 A dog controls each project and each scheme,  
 A fox the object of respect doth seem,  
 Shapshál<sup>1</sup> a trusty treasurer we deem:  
 What piece can move to save the King from mate?  
 Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(11)

The following poem, with the refrain "How can hearing be like seeing?" appeared in the *Nasim-i-Shimál* for May 29, 1908 (No. 19). It also is from the pen of Ashraf.

الا تا چند راحت آرمیدن<sup>1</sup>      نرفته کی توان جانی رسیدن<sup>1</sup>  
 ندیده کی توان صورت کشیدن<sup>1</sup>      محمد دیدن و موسی شنیدن<sup>1</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>1</sup>  
 خبر آمد که ایران را بهار است<sup>1</sup>      بهارستان بر از مشک تار است<sup>1</sup>  
 فضای پارلمان م عطر بار است<sup>1</sup>      بمباید لاله از مشروطه جیدن<sup>1</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>1</sup>  
 خبر آمد جهان امن و امان شد<sup>1</sup>      برغت شه مطیع پارلمان شد<sup>1</sup>  
 بدولت نیز ملت توأمان شد<sup>1</sup>      گذشت آن ظلم و قتل و سربردن<sup>1</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 181, n. 1.



جهان روشن شد از انوارِ مجلس<sup>۱</sup> بود روح القدس معمارِ مجلس<sup>۱</sup>  
 باطراف و در و دیوارِ مجلس<sup>۱</sup> نباید عکسوت آما تنیدن<sup>۱</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>۱</sup>

بحمد الله ز قیدِ ظلم رستیم<sup>۱</sup> سر دیوِ جهالت را شکستیم<sup>۱</sup>  
 بطوفِ یارلمان احرام بستیم<sup>۱</sup> جو وحشی باید از ظالم رمیدن<sup>۱</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>۱</sup>

خبر آمد که شد دورانِ ملت<sup>۱</sup> خلاص از مستبد شد جانِ ملت<sup>۱</sup>  
 فنا گشتند سلاخانِ ملت<sup>۱</sup> نداند گرگ بر بره پریدن<sup>۱</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>۱</sup>

خبر آمد که ظالم از جهان رفت<sup>۱</sup> از استبداد هم نام و نشان رفت<sup>۱</sup>  
 حدیث داغ و شلاق از میان رفت<sup>۱</sup> نداند گریه بر دنبه جهیدن<sup>۱</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>۱</sup>

نباید زد بر افسارِ واللّه<sup>۱</sup> نباید رفت زیر بارِ واللّه<sup>۱</sup>  
 نباید شد خرِ اغیارِ واللّه<sup>۱</sup> چه خوش بی<sup>۱</sup> روح انسانی دمیدن<sup>۱</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>۱</sup>

شها تریاک جای قند نا کی<sup>۱</sup> بدزدان و دغل پیوند نا کی<sup>۱</sup>  
 بقرآن بسجمت سوگند نا کی<sup>۱</sup> نصیحت باید از اشرف شنیدن<sup>۱</sup>  
 شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن<sup>۱</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Di* is a dialect form of *buwad*, familiar to all educated Persians through the popular quatrains of Bâbâ Tâhir the Lur, who may be called the "Burns of Persia."

## (12)

The following poem appeared in the *Nasim-i-Shimāl* for June 18, 1908 (No. 22), five days before the *Coup d'État*.

امیران ز عطرِ علم معطر نمی شود <sup>۱</sup>	در شوره زار لاله مبسر نمی شود
سنگ و کلوخ لؤلؤ و گوهر نمی شود <sup>۱</sup>	صد بار گفته‌ام مکرر نمی شود
ظالم کجا و راه رو معدلت کجا <sup>۱</sup>	دندانِ مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
طفلِ محله گرد کجا تریست کجا <sup>۱</sup>	سلطان کجا و با ضعفا مرحمت کجا
گفتیم علم و صنعت و ثروت زیاده شد <sup>۱</sup>	با زور زر گرر جو جفندر نمی شود
با فوت و فن کاسه گری قلع ماده شد <sup>۱</sup>	دندانِ مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
نه قولمان درست نه افعالمان صحیح <sup>۱</sup>	از قبل ظلم شاه بکلی پیاده شد
نه مالمان معین و نه خانمان صحیح <sup>۱</sup>	دیدم مشکل است حجر زر نمی شود
رنج دو ساله رفت هدر و مصیبتا <sup>۱</sup>	دندانِ مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
خوردیم زهر جای شکر و مصیبتا <sup>۱</sup>	نه عقلمان رما و نه اعمالمان صحیح
هرجا نهالِ نارس مشروطه رخ گشود <sup>۱</sup>	والله این فقیه توانگر نمی شود
باید بیای نخلِ وطن خون روان نمود <sup>۱</sup>	دندانِ مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
	شد کار و بار خلق بستر و مصیبتا
	دیدم هر سیاه جو قنبر <sup>۱</sup> نمی شود
	دندانِ مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
	در پای او جناولِ خون جای آب بود
	بی آب هیچ محله تناور نمی شود
	دندانِ مار دسته خنجر نمی شود

<sup>۱</sup> Qanbar was the faithful negro servant of the Imam 'Alī. To say "every negro is not a Qanbar" is equivalent to saying "every sailor is not a Nelson."

پهل سوار <sup>۱</sup> گشته قدمگاه دشمنان	خلخال <sup>۲</sup> خالخال شد از ظلم رهنان
تبریز مال مال شد از ناله زنان	در جریم که گوش فلک کر نمی شود
دردا و حسرتا که فزون شد جون ما	دندان مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
قاضی برشوده راضی بجون ما	ای مستبد مگو سخن از چند و چون ما
ای ملت غبور کنون وقت غیرت است	این ماده بز بچق خدا نر نمی شود
منهب ز دست رفت وطن در مذلت است	دندان مار دسته خنجر نمی شود
	ای ملت نجیب کنون وقت غیرت است
	دندان مار دسته خنجر نمی شود

## (13)

The following *taşnîf*, or ballad, appeared in the same issue of the *Nāstū-i-Shiml* (No. 22) as the last. It is written in a very simple and somewhat colloquial style. *Mi-shé* and *na-mi-shé* ("will it be?" "it cannot be!") are common colloquial contractions for *mī-shawad* and *namī-shawad*; *siyā* (black) = *siyāh*; *shahwat-charānī* means "self-indulgence," "pampering the passions"; *jān-i-Mawlā* (analogous to *jān-i-pidar*) means literally "Soul of the Lord," i.e. "God's beloved," and is equivalent to "my good friend"; and *yārā* ("that friend" of ours) refers to some person, known to the speaker and the hearer only, whom it is not desired to name. It is often used contemptuously, and here, presumably, refers to Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh.

میشه دولت به ملت یار گردد  
نگو هرگز نبیشه های های  
ناهل مملکت غصوار گردد  
نگو هرگز نبیشه های های  
شبیه نادر افشار گردد  
نگو هرگز نبیشه های های  
سیا قورمز نبیشه های های

<sup>1</sup> *Pillawār* (Balasowar of the maps) is situated near the western shore of the Caspian, in the northern part of the province of Tālish, close to the Russo-Persian frontier, and was the scene of one of the earliest acts of Russian aggression.

<sup>2</sup> *A'kalāhāl* is a district between Azarbaijān and Tālish, between Ardābil and Miyāna.

میشه گرگی بگله آشنا شه ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 میشه شیطان بشکل اولیا شه ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 میشه شدوت چرانی پادشا شه ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 نگو هرگز نبیشه های های  
 سیا فرمز نبیشه های های

بیا شاهها صفا کن جان مولا ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 رعیت را رها کن جان مولا ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 بملت خوب تا کن جان مولا ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 نمد شولا نبیشه های های  
 جان مولا نبیشه های های

میشه ایران ویران گردد آباد ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 شود ظالم از این مشروطه دلشاد ' نگو هرگز نبیشه های های '  
 بارو راضی نبیشه های های '  
 پشه قاضی نبیشه های های '

## (14)

After the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, and the destruction of the First National Assembly, the free press of the first Constitutional Period entirely disappeared for some months, and Mīrzā Jahāngīr Khān of Shīrāz, the editor of the *Šūr-i-Isrāfīl* ("Trumpet-call of Isrāfīl"), one of the most notable publications of that period, was put to death by the ex-Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī in the Bāgh-i-Shāh. \*Dakhaw', one of the most talented contributors to that paper, escaped to Europe, and again began to publish the paper at Yverdon in Switzerland on Muḥarram 1, A.H. 1327 (January 23, 1909). Only three numbers, so far as I

<sup>1</sup> See p. 190 *supra*.





know, appeared; the third, published on March 8, 1909, contained the following elegy on Mírzá Jahánger Khán, "that Martyr of the Path of Liberty and most faithful defender of the rights of his country," by his associate and friend, the above-mentioned Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Dih-khudá, better known as "*Dakhaw*." It will be noticed that this poem, in the arrangement of its rhymes, shows strong traces of European influence. It runs as follows:

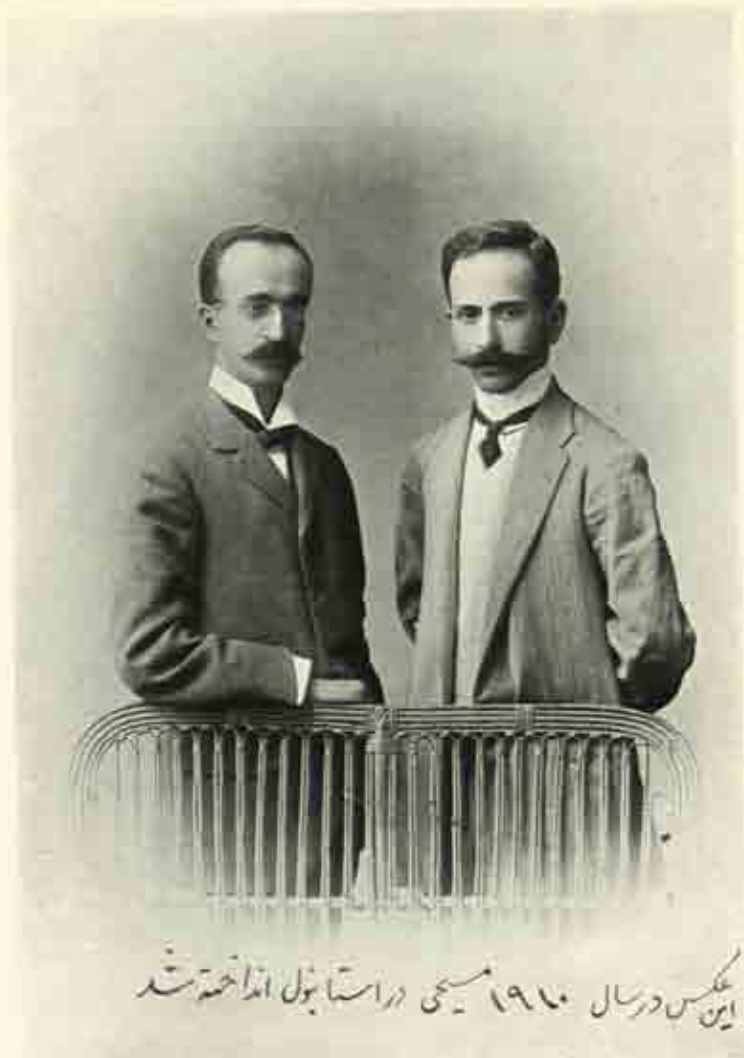
وَصَبْتُ نَامَةَ دُوسْتِ بَگَانَةِ مَنِ هَدِيَةِ بَرادری یُوفَا بِه پِشْگَاوِ  
آن رُوحِ اَقْدَسِ وَاَعْلٰی

(1)

ای مرغِ بحرِ جَوایِنِ شَبِ نَارِ بگذاشت ز سرِ سیاهِ کاری  
وَز نَفْعِ رُوحِ بَخْشِ اَسْحَارِ رَفْت از سرِ خِشْتَنگانِ خِمَارِ  
بگشود گره ز زلفِ زرِ نَارِ مَحَبُّوئے نِیْلِگُونِ عِمَارِ  
بِرَدِائِ بَکَمالِ شُدِ نُمُودارِ وَا مَرِیْبِ زِشْتِ خُوحِصَارِ  
یادِ آرزِ شمعِ مرده یادِ آرزِ

(2)

ای مونسِ یُوسُفِ اَنْدَرِیْنِ بَندِ تَعِیْرِ عِیَانِ جُوشْدِ تَرَا خُوابِ  
دَلِ پُرِ ز شَعْفِ لَبِ از شُکْرِ خُندِ مَحْصُودِ عَدُوِّ بَکْشَامِ اَصْحَابِ  
رَفْقِ بِرِ پَنَارِ خُوشِ وِ بَیُونْدِ آزَادِ تَرِ از نَسِیمِ وِ مَهْتَابِ  
زَانِ کُوهِ شامِ بَا تَوْبِکِ چَندِ دَرِ آرزُویِ وَصَالِ اَحْبَابِ  
اَخِرِ بِحَرِّ شَمْعِ مرده یادِ آرزِ



Mirzá 'Alī Akbar "Dakhaw" (right) and Mirzá Husayn Dānish Khān (left), both notable Persian poets

(۳)

چون باغ شود دو باره خرم ' ای بلبل مستمند مسکین '  
 وز سنبل و سوری و سرغم ' آفاق نگارخانه جبین '  
 گل سرخ و برخ عرق ز شبنم ' تو داده ز کف فرار و نمکین '  
 ز آن نو گل پیش رس که در غم ' نا داده بنارِ شوق تمکین '  
 از سردی دی فسرده یاد آر'

(۴)

ای همزه تیو بور عمران ' بگذشت جو این سنین معدود '  
 و آن شاهدِ نغزِ بزمِ عرفان ' بشود جو وعدِ خویش مشهود '  
 وز مذبح زر جوشد بکیوان ' هر صبح شبنمِ عنبر و عود '  
 ز آن کو بگناه قوم نادان ' در حسرتِ روی ارضِ موعود '  
 بر بادیه جان سپرده یاد آر'

(۵)

چون گشت ز تو زمانه آباد ' ای کودکِ دوره طلایی '  
 وز طاعتِ بندگانِ خود شاد ' بگرفت ز سر خدا خدائی '  
 نه ریمِ ارم نه اسمِ شداد ' گیل بست دهانِ ژاژ خانی '  
 ز آن کس که ز نوك نیغِ جلاد ' مأخوذِ مجرمِ حقِ سنائی '  
 پیمانه وصل خورده یاد آر'



*(Prose Translation)*

*"In Memory of my incomparable Friend: the offering of an unworthy brother at the shrine of that most high and holy Spirit.*

## (1)

"O bird of the morning, when this gloomy night puts aside  
its dark deeds,  
And, at the life-giving breath of the Dawn, besotted slumber  
departs from the heads of those who sleep,  
And the Loved One enthroned on the dark blue litter loosens  
the knots from her golden-threaded locks<sup>1</sup>,  
And God is manifested in perfection, while Ahriman of evil  
nature withdraws to his citadel,  
Remember, O remember, that extinguished Lamp<sup>2</sup>!

## (2)

"O companion of Joseph in this bondage, when the interpretation  
of the Dream becomes plain to thee,  
And thy heart is full of joy, and thy lips with sweet laughter,  
and thou art as thy friends would have thee, and envied  
by thy foes,  
And thou hast gone back to thy friends and kin, freer than  
the zephyr or the moonlight,  
Remember him who, for a while throughout the night, in the  
desire to meet the friends, with thee counted the stars until  
the morning.

## (3)

"When the garden smiles again, O poor, longing nightingale,  
And when the horizons become like the picture-gallery of China  
with hyacinthis, red roses and marjoram,  
And when the rose is red, and the dew stands like sweat on its  
check, while thou hast relinquished rest and consideration,

<sup>1</sup> The golden rays of the sun in the dark blue pavilion of the sky are intended. In Persian there is no gender, but it is worth noting that in Arabic the sun is feminine, while the moon is masculine.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Mirzá Jahángír Khán, who lighted us on our way ere the Dawn broke, until his light was quenched in death.

Remember that budding rose which bloomed before its time,  
and which withered in sorrow in the chill of December  
ere it had assuaged the fires of its cravings!

## (4)

"O thou who wert the companion in the Desert of 'Imrân's  
son! When these few years have elapsed,  
And that sweet comrade at the Banquet of Wisdom hath made  
manifest his promise,  
And when each morning the fragrance of ambergris and aloes  
ascends to Saturn from the Golden Altar,  
Remember him who, for the sins of an ignorant people, yielded  
up his life in the Desert, hoping for a sight of the Promised  
Land!

## (5)

"When the times are once more propitious, O Child of the  
Golden Age,  
And God, gladdened by the obedience of His Servants, once  
again assumes Divinity,  
And there endures neither the fashion of Iram nor the name  
of Shaddād<sup>1</sup>, but earth stops the mouth of him whose food  
was filth (*i.e.* whose words were folly),  
Remember him who, punished for the crime of glorifying the  
truth, drained the draught of Union from the point of the  
headsman's sword!"

## (15)

This and the two following poems are of some historical  
interest in connection with the incipient rising in Rasht, which,  
in conjunction with the gathering of the Bakhtiyārī clans at  
Isfahān, culminated in the capture of Tīhrān and deposition of  
Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh in July, 1909. The first of these three  
poems appeared in the *Nasīm-i-Shimāl* (No. 23) of February 15,  
1909, and recommends "deeds not words" to the people of  
Gīlān.

<sup>1</sup> For the ancient Arabian tyrant Shaddād and his wonderful Garden of Iram,  
see *surd lxxxix* of the *Qur'ān*, verses 5—7, and the commentaries on it. Here  
Muḥammad 'Alī, the ex-Shāh, and his garden, the *Bāgh-i-Shāh*, are meant.

سلطنت بهرِ شہان با ستم وظلم نباید ' جان نثاری بی اصلاح وطن باید و شاید  
تا کہ ہمت نکئی کس برُخت در نگشاید ' مرد آن است کہ لب بندد و بازو بگشاید  
انبیاء درج نمودند مقلات عدالت ' اولیاء جملہ سرودند عبارات عدالت  
علما جملہ نوشتند روایات عدالت ' گفتگو بپہدہ از مظلومہ امروز نشاید  
مرد آن است کہ لب بندد و بازو بگشاید  
جاهدوا گنت خداوند بافجیل و بفرات ' خیز از بہر وطن ہمچو مجاہد بنشان جان  
خجرو تیر و خدنگ است گل و ترگس و ریحان ' نغمہٴ توپ و تفنگ است کہ غمہا بزدايد  
مرد آن است کہ لب بندد و بازو بگشاید

(Prose Translation)

Sovereignty endureth not for cruel and tyrannical kings : to lay down life for the amelioration of one's country is meet and proper.

So long as thou makest no effort, no one will open the door before thee : he is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm !

The Prophets have included in their utterances discourses on Justice : all the Saints have celebrated the praises of Justice : All the learned have enshrined in their writings traditions of Justice : unseemly to-day is vain talk about Injustice : He is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm !

"Strive" (*jāhidū*) saith God both in the Gospels and in the *Qur'ān* : arise, then, and like a "striver" (*mujāhid*) lay down thy life for thy country's sake<sup>1</sup> !

<sup>1</sup> See *Qur'ān*, v, 39; ix, 41, 87; xii, 77. *Mujāhid* (the title given during the Persian Revolution to the National Volunteers) is the participle corresponding to the noun *jihād*, which means a "striving" "in God's way" (*fi sabīl'illah*), and in the *Qur'ān* especially fighting for the Faith, but in these days for the Fatherland. The appeal to the Gospels as well as the *Qur'ān* is interesting and characteristic, for it must be remembered that many of those *Mujāhidin* were Armenian Christians.

Dagger, arrow and javelin are as the rose, the narcissus and the basil: it is the roar of cannons and guns which will dissipate our sorrows!

He is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

## (16)

The following verses appeared in the same issue of the *Nasim-i-Shimal* as the last, and celebrate the adhesion (or apparent adhesion) of the *Sipahdār*, who had previously been employed by the Shāh in the siege of Tabriz, to the Nationalist Cause. The quatrain immediately following these verses appeared in the issue of the same paper dated March 5, 1909, and like them celebrates the praises of the *Sipahdār*.

ز یمنِ مقدم سعد سپهدار'	شده گیلان دگر باره پر انوار'
غبارِ مقدمش را کحلِ ابصار'	سزد گیلانیان یکسر نمابند'
که نامت متشرگشته در افطار'	جهانگیرا امیرِ دستگیرا'
چو تو ملتِ پرستی هیچ دیار'	بعمرِ خود ندیدست و نمیند'
ز تنکابن چو نو گشته پدیدار'	ز دیلم گر عیان شد آلِ بویه'
خدایت لایقِ هر شغل و هر کار'	میانِ صد هزاران خلق چون دید'
که هان بشتاب و گیلان را نگهدار'	ز لطفِ خویش برگوشِ دلت گفت'
نگهدارش که نامت باد بسیار'	نگهدارش که نامت باد باقی'
الا تا جامِ مشروطه است سرشار'	الا تا رایتِ مشروطه بر پاست'

همیشه باد مداحِ تو اشرف

نگهدارت خداوند جهاندار'

روشن و تابنده باد نام سپهدار'	باقی و پاینده باد نام سپهدار'
هم بقلکِ ثبت در جرابدِ عرش'	هم بر زمین زنده باد نام سپهدار'



*(Translation)*

Once again Gilān is filled with radiance by the blessing of  
the auspicious advance of the *Sipahdār*.

It were meet that all the people of Gilān should make the  
dust of his advance collyrium for their eyesight!

O Conqueror of the world, O Saviour-Chief, whose fame hath  
become spread abroad throughout the lands,

No inhabitant [of this land] hath ever in his life beheld or  
will behold a patriot like thee!

If the House of Buwayh appeared from Daylam, from Tankābun  
hath appeared one like thee!<sup>1</sup>

Since, amongst hundreds of thousands of the people, God saw  
thee worthy of every work and deed,

In His Mercy He whispered into the ear of thy heart, "O make  
haste, and take charge of Gilān!

"Take charge of it, that thy name may endure for ever! Take  
charge of it, and may thy life be long!"

O, so long as the Standard of the Constitution stands, and  
so long as the cup of the Constitution brims over,

May Ashraf ever be thy panegyrist! May God the Ruler of  
the world keep thee in safety!

May the name of the *Sipahdār* be bright and resplendent,

May the name of the *Sipahdār* continue and endure!

May the name of the *Sipahdār* live on earth,

And may it be inscribed in the register of Heaven!

## (17)

The following poem also appeared in the *Nasīm-i-Shimāl*, in  
No. 27, issued on March 5, 1909. It is supposed to express the  
despair of the Devil at the downfall of Despotism, and is not  
lacking in merit and originality.

<sup>1</sup> The House of Buwayh ruled over the greater part of Southern Persia from A.D.  
937 to 1055, and came originally from the shores of the Caspian Sea. Though their  
immediate ancestor was of humble station, they claimed noble Persian descent, and  
the learned al-Bīrūnī supports this claim.

(۱)

گفت شیطانِ دغا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم / گشت مشروطه یا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم  
 مرغِ مشروطه بگلزارِ وطن شهیدِ زد / معدلت بر رگتِ شریانِ ستم خنجر زد  
 نامِ مشروطه بچشمِ ظلمه خنجر زد / مستبد گشت فنا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم

(۲)

من که شیطانم از این غصه زمین گیر شدم / مستبدین همه مردند ز غم پیر شدم  
 راستی منکه ز اوضاعِ جهان سیر شدم / گشتم انگشت نما آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم  
 گفت شیطانِ دغا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم

(۳)

منکه دیوانه شدم ای عفا دور شوید / می زخمِ سنگِ بمرهای شما دور شوید  
 مستبدین همه گشتند فنا دور شوید / زده مشروطه لوا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم  
 گفت شیطانِ دغا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم

(۴)

سالها بود که خونِ همه را می خوردم / بولها از طرفِ بیه زنان می بردم  
 دلِ ملت را بسببِ جور می آزردم / همه گشتیم گدا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم  
 گفت شیطانِ دغا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم

(۵)

نیست شد ظلم و جفا حبله و تزویر ببرد / محو شد رنگ و ریا رشوه بی پیر ببرد  
 ظالم از رنج و عنا گشت زمین گیر ببرد / رفت آتش بسما آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم  
 گفت شیطانِ دغا آخِ چکنم واخِ چکنم

(٦)

هنت مه بود که مشروطه درین ملک نبود  
زارعین را بدن از قعجی ما بود کبود  
چوجه و مرغ و فستجان ز سر خوان زبود  
بر زد و رفت هوا آخ چکم واخ چکم  
مستند گشت فنا آخ چکم واخ چکم

(٧)

ای فلک آن همه بد حرق و شلتاق چه شد  
چادر و دستگه و نخه و تخماق چه شد  
نقل چوب و فلک و ضربت شلاق چه شد  
چه شد آن نشو و نما آخ چکم واخ چکم  
گفت شیطان دغا آخ چکم واخ چکم

(٨)

چه شد آن قتل رعیت چه شد آن ظلم و عذاب  
چه شد آن بره بریان چه شد آن جام شراب  
چه شد آن شربت قند و چه شد آن مرغ کباب  
چه شد آن برگ و نوا آخ چکم واخ چکم  
گفت شیطان دغا آخ چکم واخ چکم

(٩)

مرشد! نخه! تخیر نه بر جین و برو  
زاهدا سفره بی پیرته بر جین و برو  
شیخنا مستند نژویر نه بر جین و برو  
گشته دور غلا آخ چکم واخ چکم  
مستند گشت فنا آخ چکم واخ چکم

(١٠)

اهل گیلان همه یکمرتبه هشیار شدند  
از حقوق وطن خویش خبردار شدند  
دزدی امشب نتوان کرد که بیدار شدند  
شحه در داد نوا آخ چکم واخ چکم  
مستند گشت فنا آخ چکم واخ چکم

## (11)

اصطهان در کتفِ حضرت صمصام آمد ' کسارِ لیسریز ز سردارِ بانجام آمد  
 خالکِ گیلان ز سپیدارِ نگو نام آمد ' رشت بگرفت صفا آخِ چکمِ واخِ چکمِ  
 مستند گشت فنا آخِ چکمِ واخِ چکمِ

*(Translation)*

## (1)

The wily old Devil did groan and greet,

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?

"For the Constitution has found its feet:

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?

"The Bird of Liberty preens its wings in a rose-girt land,

"And Tyranny's vein is severed at last by Justice's hand,

"And the Despot's eyes are blinded by Freedom's gleaming brand,

"And the autocrats are, it would seem, dead beat,

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

The wily old Devil did groan and greet,

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

## (2)

"I, the Devil, with this vexation am now laid low;

"All the despots are dead, and I am grown old with woe;

"In very truth I am sorry and sick at the way things go.

"I'm exposed to the finger of scorn in the street:

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

The wily old Devil did groan and greet,

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

## (3)

"Men of sense! I am mad: 'Twere best you should let me alone!

"Lest I arise and break your heads with stick or with stone!

"For the autocrats all are uprooted and scattered and overthrown,



"And the Flag of Freedom the people greet:  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"  
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

## (4)

"For many a year from all and sundry I sucked the gore,  
"And stole the hard-won moneys I found in the widow's store,  
"And afflicted the heart of the people with sorrows and griefs  
galore:  
"But now we're beggars who roam the street,  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"  
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

## (5)

"Deceit is dead, and cruel oppression hath passed away:  
"Hypocrisy's crushed and godless bribery's lost its sway:  
"Fallen and dead is the despot, his head with grief grown grey:  
"His sighs to heaven rise swift and fleet,  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"  
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

## (6)

"For seven months this country no Constitution knew:  
"With our whips and our scourges the backs of the peasants  
were black and blue.  
"But now from the libertine's tables the chickens and game  
and stew  
"Have taken their flight with hurrying feet:  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"  
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,  
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

## (7)

- "Heavens! What hath become of our curses and oaths and blows?  
 "Our pavilions and pomps, and the thrones and truncheons which we dispose?  
 "The sticks and scourges and rods that were ready in ranks and rows?  
 "What hath arrested our nimble feet?  
 "What'll I do? O what'll I do?"  
 The wily old Devil did groan and greet,  
 "What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

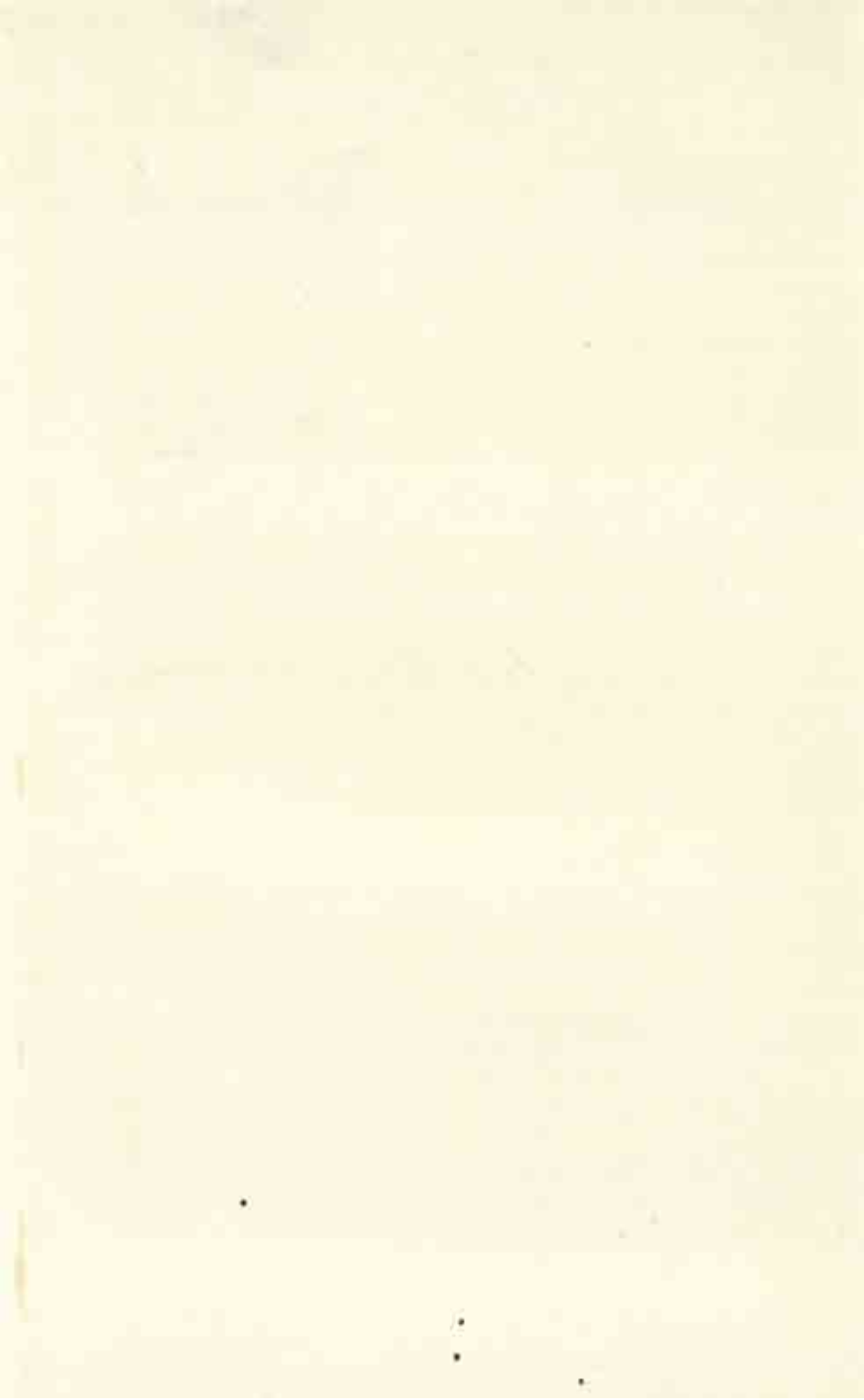
## (8)

- "What hath become of our slaughter of peasants and torments grim?  
 "What of our roasted lambs and our goblets filled to the brim?  
 "What of our sherbets sweet and the succulent capon's limb?  
 "Whither is gone our delectable meat?  
 "What'll I do? O what'll I do?"  
 The wily old Devil did groan and greet,  
 "What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
- \*       \*       \*       \*

## (18)

The following poem appeared in No. 45 of the *Nasim-i-Shiml* on July 12, 1909, the very day on which the first detachment of the Nationalist Volunteers under the command of the *Sipahdār* entered Tih-rān<sup>1</sup>. It depicts Shaykh Fazlu'llāh, the reactionary *mujtahid*, hastening to betray Persian independence and ready to sell the country by auction to the highest bidder. A rhymed paraphrase of the first half of this poem is appended.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 315.





به لازم وخرابا مسجد و خیرسوز و شهادت و برهک آخانی  
انگلیس را و قیون گشتن ..

English tourist collecting antiquities

(From *Mulla Nazim's Dila*, Year III, No. 5, Feb. 16, 1908)



(1)

حاجی بازار رواج است رواج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'  
 می فروشم همه ایران را' عرض و ناموس مسلمانان را  
 رشت و قزوین و قم و کاشان را' بخرید این وطن ارزانی را'  
 بزد و خوالسار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(۲)

دشمنی فرقه احرار منم' فائلی زمره احرار منم'  
 شیخ فضل الله سمسار منم' دین فروشنده بیزار منم'  
 مال مرزدار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(۳)

با همه خلق عداوت دارم' دشمنی با همه ملت دارم'  
 از خود شاه و کالت دارم' بهراج از همه دعوت دارم'  
 وقت افطار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(۴)

شهر تو اردوی ملی زده رنج' متصرف شده قزاقی کرج'  
 گر که دیوانه شوم نست حرج' جز هراجم نبود راه فرج'  
 رخت زر ناز هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(۵)

طل و شمشیر علم را کی میخاد' شیر و خورشید رقم را کی میخاد'  
 تخت جمشید عجم را کی میخاد' تاج کی مسند حمرا کی میخاد'  
 اسب و افسار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(6)

می دم تخت کینان را بگرو' می زخم مستدِ جگر را به علو'  
 می کشم قلابِ خورش را به جلو' می خورم قیسه یلو قرمه جلو'  
 رشته خوشکار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(7)

آن شنیدم که حجج در عتبات' زده چادر بلب شطِ فرات'  
 شده عازم معجم یا صلوات' جز هراجم شود راه نجات'  
 دین بناچار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(8)

گر ز اسلام بشد قطع اثر' ور بیا گشت بگیلان محشر'  
 ور بنسریز اُرس کرد مفر' هر چه شد شد بجهنم بسفر'  
 فوج افشار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(9)

جدِ مرحوم شه از مهر و داد' هنده شهر ز قنقازیه داد'  
 آنچه از مال پدر مانده ز یاد' می فروشد همه را بادا یاد'  
 همه بکار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

(10)

می کند صبحه - روش از طرفی' بختیاری بجروش از طرفی'  
 ملت رشت بجوش از طرفی' شجر را عزم فروش از طرفی'  
 فری دربار هراج است هراج' کو خریدار هراج است هراج'

## (11)

در همه مکر و فن استادان من    منی بصره و بغداد من  
 قاض سلطنت آبادان من    آئی عجب در نه افتادان من  
 گرگ و کنتار هراج است هراج    کو خریدار هراج است هراج

*(Translation)*

## (1)

Hájji, the market's brisk, the bidding high ;  
 Here comes the auctioneer ! Who'll buy ? Who'll buy  
 I'm here the Persian land to sell or pawn,  
 The pride and honour of each Musulmán,  
 Both Qum and Rasht, both Qazwín and Káshán,  
 Yazd, Khwánsár, every city of Írán.  
 All's up for auction at a figure fair :  
 Come, gentlemen, where is a bidder, where ?

## (2)

Of Liberals I am the stalwart foe :  
 I'd like to kill them all, as well you know !  
 I represent Shaykh Fazlu'lláh and Co.,  
 Brokers, who hawk Religion to and fro,  
 Here is the carcase. Gentlemen, draw near !  
 Who'll buy ? Who'll buy ? Here comes the auctioneer !

## (3)

My countrymen I loathe and execrate ;  
 My country is the object of my hate !  
 I represent our Monarch wise and great,  
 Who to my hapds commits the Nation's fate !  
 'Tis time for breakfast. Put this business through !  
 Who bids ? Who bids ? Come Sir, a bid from you !

## (4)

At Shahr-i-Naw behold the patriots' post!  
 Scattered at Karach is the Cossack host!  
 Well may I rave, or e'en give up the ghost!  
 Let's sell the land to him who offers most!  
 What offer for this richly-wrought brocade  
 With gold enwoven? Is no offer made?

## (5)

Who wants these trumpets, drums and flags to own?  
 Who'd make the Lion and the Sun his own?  
 Who'll make a bid for Persian Jamshid's throne?  
 Kay's crown, Jam's sceptre in with these are thrown!  
 For this fine horse and for this bridle rare  
 Who'll make a bid? Where is an offer, where?

\*     \*     \*

## (19)

The following poem, which celebrates the Nationalist victory and capture of Tih-ran, the deposition of Muhammad 'Alf, and the accession of his young son Sultan Ahmad Shah, appeared in No. 48 of the *Nasim-i-Shimal* on August 1, 1909, only a fortnight after these stirring events. It and the poem next succeeding are remarkable not only for their spirited words and metre and the wonderful lilt of the lines, but for a note of triumph and optimism which too rarely reveals itself in these poems. The beauty of both poems lies largely in the euphony of the phrases and the splendour of the rhythm and rhymes, which I have despaired of rendering adequately into English, even in the freest paraphrase. As the poems present no particular difficulty I have not given a prose translation, but have contented myself with adding a few notes to explain allusions to current events.

ای شهناو جوان شیران جنگ آور نگر    در نگر    عالمی دیگر نگر  
 ملتی را راحت از مشروطه برنا بر نگر    در نگر    عالمی دیگر نگر

.     .



بادشاهی کن که دورانِ جهان بر کامِ تست<sup>1</sup>    رامِ تست<sup>2</sup>    شاه احمد نامِ تست  
 در بخامد خویش را همنامِ پیغمبرِ نگر<sup>3</sup>    در نگر<sup>4</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 داد خواهی کن درین مشروطه چون نوشیروان<sup>5</sup>    در جهان<sup>6</sup>    رختِ همت بر جهان  
 خویش را والاتر از دارا و اسکندرِ نگر<sup>7</sup>    در نگر<sup>8</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 در معارف دشمنانِ علم را نابود کن<sup>9</sup>    جود کن<sup>10</sup>    جمل را منقود کن  
 وقتِ تنگ و رختِ لنگ و سختیِ معرِ نگر<sup>11</sup>    در نگر<sup>12</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 آخر این ایران که بوده جایِ جم پانختِ کی<sup>13</sup>    اهلِ وی<sup>14</sup>    غرقِ غفلت نا یکی  
 باغبانانِ باغِ را بی شاخ و برگ و بر نگر<sup>15</sup>    در نگر<sup>16</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 ای سبهدارِ رشید ای روحِ بخشِ زنده دم<sup>17</sup>    دمدم<sup>18</sup>    در ترقی زت قدم  
 نامِ خود را تا جهان باقیست در دفترِ نگر<sup>19</sup>    در نگر<sup>20</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 پادشاهان را از وکیلانِ صبحِ آباد کن<sup>21</sup>    داد کن<sup>22</sup>    ملت را شاد کن  
 خائبن را زود کن اخراج بر محضرِ نگر<sup>23</sup>    در نگر<sup>24</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 شیخِ نوری دستگیرِ فرقه احرار شد<sup>25</sup>    خوار شد<sup>26</sup>    <sup>27</sup>مفتدر بر دار شد  
 و آن<sup>28</sup> مناخر گشت خلقِ آویز بر کثیرِ نگر<sup>29</sup>    در نگر<sup>30</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 مدتی با شیخِ رقی با حریفانِ ساختی<sup>31</sup>    ساختی<sup>32</sup>    دیدی آخرِ ساختی  
 حال و روزِ بعد ازینت را از این بدترِ نگر<sup>33</sup>    در نگر<sup>34</sup>    عالمی دیگرِ نگر  
 سینه کویاتِ شیخنا گوید بزاری در جلو<sup>35</sup>    کو جلو<sup>36</sup>    آخ چه شد خرما پلو<sup>37</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The execution of Shaykh Faḡla'llah of Nūr, the reactionary *mujtahid*, is announced in the latest news in this same issue.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to the *Muḡtabar-i-Nizām*, who had been already punished in April, 1908, for the part he took in the Abortive *Coup d'Etat* of December, 1907. (See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 199.) He was not, however, hanged in August, 1909, as this poem implies.

<sup>3</sup> The *Muḡtabar-i-Mulk*, who had been Vice-Governor of Tihān and had taken refuge at the Russian Legation, was condemned to death by the Special Court instituted to try such cases, and was shot on July 29, 1909. See my *Persian Revolution*, p. 319.

کو فِئَحْنَ کو مُتَحَنِّ جَایِ شَرِبت نَرِ نَکَرُ<sup>۱</sup> در نَکَرُ<sup>۱</sup> عالمی دیگر نَکَرُ<sup>۱</sup>  
 کو خورشیدای لذیذ و مرغهای یا مزه<sup>۱</sup> خوشمزه<sup>۱</sup> نو کتاب و خربزه<sup>۱</sup>  
 کک را در کوهسار و برّه را در بر نَکَرُ<sup>۱</sup> در نَکَرُ<sup>۱</sup> عالمی دیگر نَکَرُ<sup>۱</sup>

## (20)

The following poem by Bahār of Mashhad, of which the general character has been discussed in the last article, appeared in No. 1 of the *Iran-i-Naw* ("New Persia") on August 24, 1909.

می ده که طی شد	دورانِ جان کاه <sup>۱</sup>	آسوده شد ملک	الملك لله <sup>۱</sup>
شد شاهِ نورا	اقبال همراهِ <sup>۱</sup>	کوسِ شهی کوفت	بر رِغم بدخواه <sup>۱</sup>
شد صبح طالع	طی شد شانگاه <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>
یك جند مارا	غم رهنمون شد <sup>۱</sup>	جان یارِ غم گشت	دل غرقِ خون شد <sup>۱</sup>
نامِ وطن را	رخ نیلگون شد <sup>۱</sup>	و امروزه دشمن	خوار و زبون شد <sup>۱</sup>
زین جشِ سخت	زین فتح ناگاه <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>
جندی ز بیداد	فرسوده گشتیم <sup>۱</sup>	با خاک و با خون	آلوده گشتیم <sup>۱</sup>
زیرِ بیِ خصم	پسوده گشتیم <sup>۱</sup>	و امروز دیگر	آسوده گشتیم <sup>۱</sup>
از ظلمِ ظالم	وز کیدِ بدخواه <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>
آنانکه مارا	کُشتند و بستند <sup>۱</sup>	قلبِ وطن را	از کینه خشتند <sup>۱</sup>
از بد نژادی	پیمان شکستند <sup>۱</sup>	از جنگِ ملت	آخر نچستند <sup>۱</sup>
از حضرت شیخ <sup>۱</sup>	نا حضرت شاه <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>	الحمد لله <sup>۱</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> i.e. Shaykh Faḡlu'llāh of Nūr and the ex-Shāh Maḥmūd 'Alī.

آنانکه با جور	منسوب گشتند <sup>1</sup>	در معده ملک	میکروب گشتند <sup>1</sup>
آخر بمملت	مغضوب گشتند <sup>1</sup>	از ناحیه ملک	جاروب گشتند <sup>1</sup>
بهران جاهل	شیخان گمراه <sup>1</sup>	الحمد لله	الحمد لله
چون کشتادید	جور شایان را <sup>1</sup>	از جا بر انگشت	ستار خان را <sup>2</sup>
سد ستم ساخت	آن مرزبان را <sup>1</sup>	نا کرد رنگین	تبغ و ستان را <sup>3</sup>
از خون دشمن	وز مغز بدخواه <sup>1</sup>	الحمد لله	الحمد لله
پس مستدین	لختی چمیدند <sup>1</sup>	گفتند لختی	لحتم شیدند <sup>1</sup>
ناگه زهر سو	شیران رسیدند <sup>1</sup>	آن روبهان باز	دم در کشیدند <sup>1</sup>
شد طعمه شیر	مکار روباه <sup>1</sup>	الحمد لله	الحمد لله
اقبال شد یار	با بختیاری <sup>1</sup>	گیلانیا را	حق کرد باری <sup>1</sup>
جیش عدو شد	بکسر فراری <sup>1</sup>	در کج غم گشت	دشمن حضاری <sup>1</sup>
شد کار ملت	بر طرز دلخواه <sup>1</sup>	الحمد لله	الحمد لله
یکسو سپهر <sup>3</sup>	شد فتنه را سد <sup>1</sup>	یکو بوزش برد	سردار اسعد <sup>1</sup>
ضرغام بر دل <sup>3</sup>	آمد ز یک حد <sup>1</sup>	بر کف گرفتند	تبغ مهتند <sup>1</sup>
بستند بر خصم	از هر طرف راه <sup>1</sup>	الحمد لله	الحمد لله
بدخواه دین را	سد منین بود <sup>1</sup>	خاکش بر شد	پاداش این بود <sup>1</sup>
دشمن که با عیش	دائم قرین بود <sup>1</sup>	اکون قرین است	با ناله وآه <sup>1</sup>
الحمد لله الحمد لله			

<sup>1</sup> "Because as microbes in the belly of the Commonwealth."

<sup>2</sup> Saltār Khān, the hero of Tabriz.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sipahdār*, who was nominally in command of the Army of Rasht, and the Bakhtiয়ারی chiefs *Sardār-i As'ad* and *Zarghān's-Saltāna*, were the chief heroes of the Nationalist Victory of July, 1909.

بیت سپهدار فرخنده بادا سردار امعد پاینده بادا  
 صمصام ایهان بُرنده بادا خرغام دین را دل زنده بادا  
 کافتاد از ایشان بدخواه درگاه الحمد لله الحمد لله  
 ستار خان را بادا ظفر یار تبریزیان را یزدان نگهدار  
 سالارشان را نیکو بود کار احرار را نیز دل باد بیدار  
 تا جمله گویند با جان آگاه الحمد لله الحمد لله  
 (ترقی) (ملك الشعرا بهار)

## (21)

The following poem, entitled "the disordered dream of Muhammad 'Alī Mirzā on the first night of his arrival at Odessa in Russia," appeared on December 16, 1909, in No. 91 of the *Irān-i-Naw*.

(خواب پریشان محمد علی میرزا اولین شب زندگانی در اودیسای روسیه)  
 خواب می بینم که گویا شاه ابراهیم هنوز در میان باغ خود در بقی و عصیانم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم بهادر جنگ با آن سنگ سنگ می شناید شه شه قربان قربانم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم اباخوف بود بولکونیک روس می دهد با نوب قزاقان خود سامم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم مشیر السلطنه چون گاو پیر می مکند خون مردم از دو پستانم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم که سعد الدوله آن خود خواه محض مرده ها بخشد ز همراهی روسانم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم که شیخ نوری و میرزا حسن می دهند فتوای کسر حلف قرآنم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم امام جمعه و امثال او می کنند تحریک نفیض عهد و پیمانم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم که اکبر شاه و کور آملی بر منابر می سرایند ظل سبحانم هنوز  
 خواب می بینم محمّد با صراحی شراب در حضور اسناده با زلف پریشانم هنوز



خواب می بینم که در خلوت ندیمی سادہ روی  
 خواب می بینم کہ نالان می کشد تبریز<sup>۱</sup>  
 خواب می بینم ز بہر صرف جنگ از بانک روس  
 خواب می بینم فرید با دو چرم مست وقتانم هنوز  
 عین دولہ با صمد خان و رحم خانم هنوز  
 با گروہم چون گدایان قرض خواہانم هنوز  
 (عشق آباد میر)

## (Translation)

"I dream once more I rule o'er Persia's land,  
 And in my garden scoff at God's command.  
*Bahâdur Jang* before me still I see,  
 Who cries 'O King! May I thy ransom be!  
*Liakhoff* too, my Russian colonel true,  
 Marshals his Cossacks still before my view.  
 While old *Mushîrî's-Saltana*, the cow!  
 Drains, as of yore, the people's life-blood now,  
 And *Sa'du'd-Dawla*, egotist unique,  
 Still to my ears of Russian aid doth speak.  
 The Shaykh of Nûr and Mîrzâ Hasan both  
 Sanction the breaking of my solemn oath.  
 The *Imâm-fur'a* and his pious peers  
 Urge me to break my word and have no fears.  
 Kûr Âmulî and Akbar Shâh withal  
 Me still 'God's shadow on the Earth' do call.  
*Mujallal*, with the wine-cup in his hand,  
 With locks dishevelled doth before me stand;  
 While smooth-cheeked pages with love-wanton eyes  
 Bemuse my wits and make my heart their prize;  
 And '*Aynu'd-Dawla*, Samad and Rahim  
 Still loot the town of Tabriz in my dream.  
 Still from the Russian Bank my wars to wage  
 I beg for cash and offer pledge and gauge!"

<sup>1</sup> All the persons mentioned in the above poem were notorious reactionaries, and full accounts of most of them will be found in my *Persian Revolution*, viz. of *Amîr Bahâdur Jang* on pp. 114, 167, 166, 199-200, 227, 261, 321, 330, 334 and 446-7; of *Liakhoff*, *passim*; of *Mushîrî's-Saltana*, pp. 334, 405, 445; of *Sa'du'd-Dawla*, pp. 57, 131, 137, 140, 154-2, 166, 306, 330, 334 and 443; of *Âbidin Khân*, *Mujallalî's Sultân*, pp. 198-200, 330, 437, 443 and 447-8; of '*Aynu'd-Dawla*,

## (22)

The following fine poem originally appeared on July 26, 1909, in the *Nasim-i-Shimāl*, No. 47; and again in the *Iran-i-Naw*, No. 93, on December 19, 1909. In the first only it bears the superscription *من کلام عشور عمو*. In the second it is followed by another poem signed *Mirzā Taqī Khān Darwīsh*, but it is not clear whether this signature is intended to apply to both poems or only to the second.

## (1)

صد شکر حقوقِ وطن امروز ادا شد      به به چه بجا شد  
هنگامِ وفا وقت صفا دفع جنا شد      به به چه بجا شد

## (2)

الحمد که قانونِ الهی جریان یافت      شد کشته و جان یافت  
قرآنِ محمد همرا راهتما شد      به به چه بجا شد

## (3)

میعوضتِ ستمگر بکشد نوشِ لبان را      والا تیان را قانونِ طلبان را  
حسرتِ بدلتش ماند و خودش رفت و فنا شد      به به چه بجا شد

## (4)

ابنِ غلغله وین جنبش و این شورشِ ملی      این کوششِ ملی وین جوششِ ملی  
والله که از بهر حقوقِ فقرا شد      به به چه بجا شد

pp. 103, 108-9, 111, 113, 117-118, 124, 256, 272, 327; of *Samad Khān Shajdā'at-Dawla*, pp. 270, 273, 442 and 446; and of *Rahim Khān*, pp. 142-2, 148, 256, 269, 271, 296, 347, 349, 441 and 446. By "the Shaykh of Nūr" is meant Shaykh Farzū'Allāh, concerning whom see pp. 113, 148-9, 242, 262 and 444-5 of the same work. For *Hājji Mirzā Husan* the *muftahid* of Tabriz, see *ibid.*, pp. 107, 249 and 262; for the *Imam-jum'a* of Tih-rān, *Mirzā Abū'l-Qāsim*, pp. 80-81, 89-90, 131, 281 and 444. By *Kūr-i-Amul* ("the Blind Man of Amul") is meant Mullā Muhammad of Amul, in Māzandarān, also called *Kūr-i-Mamul*. Sayyid Akbar Shāh was a *ramza-khān*, or religious thapsodist.

(5)

شد خلع محمد علی از تخت کبیانی  
آن ساق که نو دانی پیدا نه نهانی  
از جنگ دورنگان وطن امروزها شد  
جامان همه جا شد به به چه بجا شد

(6)

خلاق جهان تازه بها شاه جوان داد  
م قوت جان داد بل روح روان داد  
از جهد سپیدار وطن کام روا شد  
به به چه بجا شد

(7)

ای ملت تبریز سعادت شدتان یار  
ای حضرت ستار وای باقر سالار  
از همتنان مات عقول عقلا شد  
به به چه بجا شد

(8)

تا شد علیم نصر من الله نمایان  
در خطه طهرات ای ملت گیلان  
از سطونان محومه ارض وسما شد  
به به چه بجا شد

(9)

تا شد ز صفاهان علیم کاوه پدیدار  
شد بخت بها بار از جلوه سردار  
اسعد که مدد بخش جود سعدا شد  
به به چه بجا شد

(10)

تا خواست خداوند که مخلوق نمیرند  
ذلت نیندیزند مشروطه بگیرند  
احمد شه والا بر تخت طلا شد  
به به چه بجا شد

(11)

المنه لله که جوان شاه خمسه  
چون لاله رسته بر تخت نشسته  
هان ای عقلا وقت گسلی وکلا شد  
به به چه بجا شد

## (۱۲)

فاطرحی والدنگ و دیوری بکجا رفت<sup>۱</sup>    نوری بکجا رفت سوری بکجا رفت  
یارو بدرک رفت و دیوری کله باشد<sup>۲</sup>    به به چه بجا شد<sup>۳</sup>

## (۱۴)

یا شیخ نه بی تو دگر رنگِ علورا<sup>۱</sup>    نه قیسه بیلورا نه قرمه جلورا<sup>۲</sup>  
دودِ دلت از داغِ فستجان بپوشد<sup>۳</sup>    به به چه بجا شد<sup>۴</sup>

## (23)

The following "Mother's Lullaby" (*Lây-lây-i-Mâdarâna*) appeared on February 2, 1910, in No. 123 of the *Irân-i-Natv* above the signature "Lâhuti of Kirmânshâh."

آمد سحر و موسم کار است بالام لای<sup>۱</sup>    خواب تو دگر باعث عار است بالام لای<sup>۲</sup>  
لای لای    بالا لای لای<sup>۳</sup>    لای لای    بالا لای لای<sup>۴</sup>  
جنگ است که مردم همه در کار و نو در خواب<sup>۵</sup>    اقبال وطن بسته بکار است بالام لای<sup>۶</sup>  
بر خیز و سوی مدرسه بشتاب<sup>۷</sup>    لای لای    بالا لای لای<sup>۸</sup>  
خاک تن آباء تو با خون شهیدان<sup>۹</sup>    برگرد تو زان خاکِ حصار است بالام لای<sup>۱۰</sup>  
گردیده غمین مادر ایران<sup>۱۱</sup>    لای لای    بالا لای لای<sup>۱۲</sup>  
نو کودک ابراق و ابراز وطن تست<sup>۱۳</sup>    جان را تن بی عیب بکار است بالام لای<sup>۱۴</sup>  
نو جان و ایران جو تن تست<sup>۱۵</sup>    لای لای    بالا لای لای<sup>۱۶</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> The two texts of this poem offer a certain number of variants which for my present purpose I have not deemed it necessary to record. I have followed in the main the N.S. version, which contains 3 stanzas (10, 11 and 13) omitted in J.N. The most important variant occurs in the third *misra'* of stanza 8, where N.S. reads

ملتتان درج به الواح بقا شد.



بر خیز محسور و نو در حفظ وطن کوش ' ای تازه گل ایران زجه خوار است بالام لای  
 پس جامه عرت بیدن پوش ' لای لای بالا لای لای  
 جای تونه گهواره بود جای نوزین است ' ای شیر پر وقت شکار است بالام لای  
 بر خیز که دشمن بکین است ' لای لای بالا لای لای  
 نگذار وطن قسمت اغیار بگردد ' با آنکه وطن را جو نو یار است بالام لای  
 ناموس وطن خوار بگردد ' لای لای بالا لای لای  
 (لاهنی کرمانشاهی)

## (Translation)

## (1)

Morn hath come and the time for work, with a *lám-láy, lám-láy*;  
 'Tis a shame any longer to sleep or to shirk, with a *lám-láy,*  
*lám-láy!*  
*Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!*

## (2)

War's toward, and work for all; no time to waste, with a  
*lám-láy*;  
 Our country's hope on this work is based, with a *lám-láy,*  
*lám-láy*;  
 Rise, then, rise, and to college haste, with a *lám-láy, lám-láy!*  
*Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!*

## (3)

From the martyrs' blood and thy forbears' dust, with a *lám-*  
*láy, lám-láy,*  
 A rampart rings thee which thou canst trust, with a *lám-láy,*  
*lám-láy*;  
 Sorrow we may, but struggle we must, with a *lám-láy, lám-láy!*  
*Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!*

## (4)

A Persian boy art thou, and Persia thy fatherland, with a  
*lâm-lây*;  
 Well in a faultless body a fearless soul doth stand, with a  
*lâm-lây*!  
 That soul art thou, and this body of thine is the Persian  
 land, with a *lâm-lây*!  
*Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây! Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây!*

## (5)

Rise in arms, and to save the State thy quality show, with  
 a *lâm-lây*!  
 Wherefore, O tender rose-bud, is Persia brought so low, with  
 a *lâm-lây*!  
 With a garment of glory invest thyself, that it be not so,  
 with a *lâm-lây*!  
*Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây! Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây!*

## (6)

No longer the cot but the saddle now is thy proper place,  
 with a *lâm-lây*!  
 O lion-cub, 'tis time for the chase, with a *lâm-lây, lâ-m-lây*!  
 Arise, arise, for a foeman lurks in each sheltering space, with  
 a *lâm-lây*!  
*Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây! Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây!*

## (7)

Suffer not that thy native land be the foeman's share, with a  
*lâm-lây*!  
 Since it hath like thee a hero bold and a champion rare,  
 with a *lâm-lây*!  
 Let not its honour decline and its hope be turned to despair,  
 with a *lâm-lây*!  
*Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây! Lây-lây, bâlá lâ-y-lây!*

## (24)

The following poem, also by Lâhûti of Kirmânshâh, appeared on February 9, 1910, in No. 129 of the *Irân-i-Naw*, and is a denunciation of the notorious Rahîm Khân Chalibânlu. The earlier career of this miscreant is recorded in my *Persian Revolution*. Immediately after the deposition of Muhammad 'Alî, on August 8, 1909, he began to loot sundry Armenian villages in N.W. Persia and to massacre the inhabitants. Ten days later he openly revolted against the restored Constitutional Government. On August 29 he was captured by Russian troops, but was released by them on September 18 on payment of a considerable sum of money. A month later he marched on Ardabil, which was reported to have fallen into his hands on November 2. A few days later a second body of Russian troops was sent to Ardabil, ostensibly to effect his capture, and on November 10 it was stated on the authority of the *Times* correspondent at Tihân that £25,000 had already been expended by the Persian Government on the equipment of an army to take the field against him. This army, commanded by Yeprem Khân, the Armenian, inflicted a severe defeat upon him on December 31, 1909, and four days later had driven him back on the Russian frontier and surrounded him so thoroughly that only across that frontier could he escape. The Persian Government, appealing to the explicit provisions of the Treaty of Turkmân-chây, begged the Russian Government not to permit him to take refuge across their border; they not only allowed him to do this, however, but refused his extradition on February 4, 1910, and allowed him to proceed to Elizavetpol (the ancient Ganja), where he remained for nearly a year. He subsequently returned to Tabriz (about January 23, 1911) where he was ultimately put to death. His was one of the numerous flagrant cases of Russian patronage and protection accorded to Persian subjects in active revolt against their Government. An illustration facing p. 440 of my *Persian Revolution* shows him, surrounded by a number of his followers, with his hand affectionately clasping that of a Russian Consular official, while a Russian officer stands a little distance from him on the other side.

## (خاطره مشنوم رحیم خان)

تنو بغیرت آن بی حقوق بی ناموس' که بعد ازین همه زشتی پناه برد بروس'  
 گمانم اینکه بجز ملک روس جایی نیست' پناه گاه چنین مردمان بی ناموس'  
 رحیم خان که جهان بر ز صیت ظم وی است' شد از حمایت روسیه از خطر محروس'  
 ندانم از چه سبب دولتی باین عظمت' بخویش خواند این دیو سیرتان عبوس'  
 هزار حیف کز این دوستی بی هنگام' نمود دشمنی خویش را بما محسوس'  
 غبار نفرت و گرد نفار این کردار' بشد ز بحر خزر نا کنار اقیانوس'  
 چه خوب بود بجای ضیافت و اکرام' چنین شریر شمشکارا کند محسوس'  
 بدشمنان تمدن هر آنکه دوست شود' مسلم است ز کردار خود خورد افسوس'  
 (لاهوری کرمانشاهی)

## (Translation)

Fie on the traitor renegade, outlawed and unashamed,  
 Who after all these evil deeds from Russia shelter claimed!  
 In all the world save Russia no country do I ken  
 Willing protection to afford to such dishonoured men.  
 The villainies of Rahīm Khān are noised o'er land and sea,  
 And now 'neath Russia's shelt'ring care he stands, from danger  
 free!

I know not why so great a Power should seem to take a pride  
 Such human fiends of scowling mien in calling to its side.  
 Alas! by friendship thus misplaced it maketh but too plain  
 How great a hate for us and ours it still doth entertain!  
 Profound mistrust and deep disgust grow ever more and more,  
 And deeds like these to the Seven Seas spread from the Caspian  
 shore.

If such a tyrant vile were housed in prison it were best,  
 Not met with hospitable care, like some much-honoured guest.  
 Foes of the human race like these whoever shall befrend  
 Reason his action to regret finds surely in the end!



## (25)

The following excellent poem, entitled *Ququltqū* ("Cock-a-doodle-do!") appeared in the *Nasīm-i-Shimāl* of December, 1910, and is signed *Māhl-gīr* ("Fisherman"), perhaps on account of the allusion in the last verse to the obnoxious Fishery Concession (*shildt*) on the Persian shore of the Caspian granted to a Russian named Lianzof or Lianozoff, of which the original scope was violently extended by the *concessionaire*, supported by his Government, to the upper waters of all the rivers of Māzandarān and Gilān discharging themselves into the Caspian.

## (قوقولتقو)

## (۱)

میخواند خروسی بشستان قوقولتقو' می گفت که ای قره' مستان قوقولتقو'  
 کو بیهن و کورسم' دستان قوقولتقو' آوخ که خزان زد بگلستان قوقولتقو'  
 فریاد ز سرمای زمستان قوقولتقو'

## (۲)

از سیلِ فتنِ شهر و وطن رو بخرای' ما خفته و مدهوش جو مستان بخرای'  
 می گفت به مرغانِ هوا آدمِ آبی' در شهر بود فحطی انسان قوقولتقو'  
 فریاد ز سرمای زمستان قوقولتقو'

## (۳)

خون گریه کند مزرعه بر حالِ دهاتی' سوزد جگرِ سنگ به احوالِ دهاتی'  
 عربان و برهه همه اطفالِ دهاتی' ابوابی ز بدبختی دهقان قوقولتقو'  
 فریاد ز سرمای زمستان قوقولتقو'

(۴)

اُف باد باین زندگی و طالعِ مخوس<sup>۱</sup> / تَف باد باین غیرت و این دفترِ معکوس<sup>۲</sup>  
 افسوس که تبریز شده دستخوشِ روس<sup>۳</sup> / قزوین شده جولانگهٔ روسانِ فوقولینو<sup>۴</sup>  
 فریاد کشیدند خروسانِ فوقولینو<sup>۵</sup>

(۵)

کوبلج و بخارا وجه شد خبوه و کابل<sup>۱</sup> / کوه‌د و سهرقند وجه شد بابل و زابل<sup>۲</sup>  
 کونقلهٔ قفقاز وجه شد آن جهنمِ گل<sup>۳</sup> / این بحرِ خزر بود ز ایرانِ فوقولینو<sup>۴</sup>  
 فریاد ز سرمای زمستانِ فوقولینو<sup>۵</sup>

(۶)

آوخ که ز کف شهر و وطن میرود آسان<sup>۱</sup> / اطنالِ رعیت همه ترسان و هراسان<sup>۲</sup>  
 آوخ که بتبریز و قزوین و خراسان<sup>۳</sup> / سالدات بهر صبح دهد سانِ فوقولینو<sup>۴</sup>  
 فریاد ز سرمای زمستانِ فوقولینو<sup>۵</sup>

(۷)

هی‌هی بخروشید که باز اولِ کار است<sup>۱</sup> / شیرانه بجوشید که هنگامِ شکار است<sup>۲</sup>  
 مردانه بکوشید که دشمن بکار است<sup>۳</sup> / زیر لکد افتاده خروسانِ فوقولینو<sup>۴</sup>  
 کافر بکجا خالِ مسلمانِ فوقولینو<sup>۵</sup>

(۸)

در انزلی امروز سخنه‌ای مخوف است<sup>۱</sup> / دعوای لیان‌زوف بسماعی صوف است<sup>۲</sup>  
 در خانهٔ ما مدخلِ اوالف الواف است<sup>۳</sup> / صیاد بدریا شده نالافِ فوقولینو<sup>۴</sup>  
 فریاد ز سرمای زمستانِ فوقولینو<sup>۵</sup>

(ماهی‌گیر)

*(Translation)*

## (1)

A cock in the hen-house shrilly trolled, "Coocoolicoo!

"Hear, O revellers young and old, Coocoolicoo!

"Where are Bahman and Rustam bold? Coocoolicoo!

"The Autumn chill doth the rose enfold, Coocoolicoo!

"Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!"

## (2)

Floods of trouble have brought our land to a swift decline,

The while we sleep, bemused, like men who are drunk with wine.

The Water-man to the birds of the air doth loud repine,

"There's a dearth of men amongst young and old,  
Coocoolicoo!

"Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!"

## (3)

The very field sheds tears of blood o'er the peasant's state;

The very heart of the stone doth melt at the peasant's fate;

Hungry and naked the peasant's child and the peasant's mate!

Alas for the peasant's woes untold, Coocoolicoo!

Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

## (4)

Fie on this life and this star sinister, banishing joy!

Out on this page reversed and the zeal without employ!

"Alas for Tabriz, doomed to become the Russians' toy!

And for Qazwin, by Muscovite troops patrolled, Coocoolicoo!"

Cry the cocks and the roosters young and old, Coocoolicoo!

## (5)

Where are Bukhára, Khíva, Balkh and Kábul, where?

Babylon, India, Samarqand and Zábul, where?

Where the Caucasian lands and their blossoming gardens fair?

The Caspian Sea was ours of old, Coocoolicoo!

Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

## (6)

Alas for lands so easily lost as these have been!  
 Our village-children are filled with terror and fear, I ween!  
 In Khurásán, alas! and in Tabriz too, and eke Qazwin  
 Daily the Russians manœuvres hold, Coocoolicoo!  
 Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

## (7)

Rouse ye, Ho! for as yet 'tis but the first of the work!  
 Rage like lions: the hunt's toward, and who would shirk?  
 Quit ye as men, for in every corner a foe doth lurk!  
 Spurned in the dust are the roosters bold, Coocoolicoo!  
 A Muslim land shall the heathen hold? Coocoolicoo!

## (8)

Terrible talk is heard to-day in Anzali  
 Of Lianzoff's claims to the fish which haunt our rivers and sea;  
 In a million ways with our homes and lands he now makes free.  
 To the sea the fisherman's woes are told, Coocoolicoo!  
 Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

## (26)

The next poem is a ballad, or *tasnif* ascribed to a lady named Minâra Khânim, but signed "*Hûp-hûp*." It is, like so many *tasnifs*, written in a very simple and colloquial style, and contains some forms (like *wâsat*, for *wâsîta-at*, "for thee," and *manâ*, for *marâ*, "me") which belong to the colloquial speech or even to dialects.

(تصنيف من كلام مناره خاتم)

نه نه جان خواب بودم خواب دیدم      ماه رمضان شد نه نه جان  
 نان و گوشت ارزان شد نه نه جان  
 خواب من دروغ بود نه نه جان      هرچه دیدم دروغ بود نه نه جان



نه نه جان خواب بودم خواب دیدم'      مشروطه بپا شد نه نه جان'  
 عیش فقرا شد نه نه جان'  
 خواب من دروغ بود نه نه جان'      هر چه دیدم دروغ بود نه نه جان'  
 نه نه جون خواب بودم خواب دیدم'      کوجها قشنگ است نه نه جان'  
 شهر قرنگ است نه نه جان'  
 خواب من دروغ بود نه نه جان'      هر چه دیدم دروغ بود نه نه جان'  
 نه نه جان خواب بودم خواب دیدم'      حمام تمیز است نه نه جان'  
 بشکن بریز است نه نه جان'  
 باز حمام خراب است نه نه جان'      بلدی بخواب است نه نه جان'  
 نه نه جان گریه مکن غصه مخور'      نان شکری میخرم واست'  
 جاذر زری میخرم واست'  
 تا تو فکر رخت میکنی نه نه'      مننه سینا بخت میکنی نه نه'  
 (امضاء هوپ هوپ)

## (Translation)

## (1)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:  
 Ramazán was over, Mother dear;  
 Everyone in clover, Mother dear!  
 But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!  
 All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

## (2)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:  
 The Constitution flourished, Mother dear;  
 All the poor were housed and nourished, Mother dear!  
 But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!  
 All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

## (3)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:  
 Spacious street and splendid square, Mother dear;  
 Like some Frankish city rare, Mother dear!  
     But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!  
     All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

## (4)

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:  
 The baths were clean and sweet, Mother dear;  
 'Snap your fingers, stamp your feet,' Mother dear!  
     But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!  
     All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

## (5)

"Weep not, Mother dear, I pray, nor worry:  
 I will buy you sugar-loaves and sweets untold,  
 And a pretty out-door mantle stitched with gold,  
     For when crushed by household care, Mother dear!  
     You fill me with despair, Mother dear!"

## (27)

The following poem, entitled *Khabar dār!* ("Look out!") and signed *Fikri-yi-Barzgar*, appeared in the *Nasim-i-Shindl* of May 11, 1911 (No. 7 of the Fourth Year). Its real author is said to be Ashraf of Rasht, the editor of the paper above mentioned, and this is very probable.

## (خبردار!)

## (1)

بعد از نهار با شیخ مشغول ذکر خود باش  
 هر کس بفکر خویش تو هم بفکر خود باش  
 در روزگار هر کس مشغول کار خویش است  
 بلبل بنغمه خوانی غرق بفکر تیش است  
 ریشو بفکر بی ریش کوسه بفکر ریش است  
 هر کس بفکر خویش تو هم بفکر خود باش

(۲)

ای نور دیده بابا صبحا جریده بابا' در مدرسه شب و روز رحمت کشیده بابا'  
جر قیل و قال آخوند چیزی ندیده بابا' هر کس بفکر خویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش'

(۳)

جمعی باسم شیخی بعضی باسم بابی' يك جوفه اعتدائی يك دسته انفلائی'  
يك طائفه شب و روز در فکر بیجاسی' هر کس بفکر خویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش'

(۴)

بعضی باسم اسلام بدعت پدید کردند' از بهر مال دنیا رو بر یزید کردند'  
اولاد مصطفی را ناحق شهید کردند' هر کس بفکر خویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش'

(۵)

بعضی باسم سلطان گشتند خان و سربسب' القابها گرفتند بی علم و عقل و ترتیب'  
انباشند از بول صندوق و کبسه و جیب' هر کس بفکر خویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش'

(۶)

بعضی باسم ملّت اموال خلق بردند' بردند پولها را در بانکهها سپردند'  
نقل و شراب و شمیا بالای میز خوردند' هر کس بفکر خویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش'

(۷)

بعضی شتر سواره عازم سوی حجازند' بعضی میانب مسجد مشغول در نمازند'  
يك دسته چنده بازند يك فرقه بجه بازند' هر کس بفکر خویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش'

(A)

جمعی باسمِ جمعه بعضی باسمِ شنبه<sup>۱</sup> مانند سنگ دریدند از یکدیگر شکسته  
 آخر زدند زندانِ آتش بیستم و پنبه<sup>۲</sup> هر کس بفکر خویش تو هم بفکر خود باش

(۹)

يك دسته شارلانتانها در طبعِ روزنامه<sup>۱</sup> بعضی ستید نامه بعضی سیاه جامه<sup>۲</sup>  
 وا حسرتا كه آخوند بر داشته عمامه<sup>۳</sup> هر کس بفکر خویش تو هم بفکر خود باش  
 (امضاء فکری بزرگر)

(Translation)

After your prayers, O reverend Sir, to meditation turn:  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

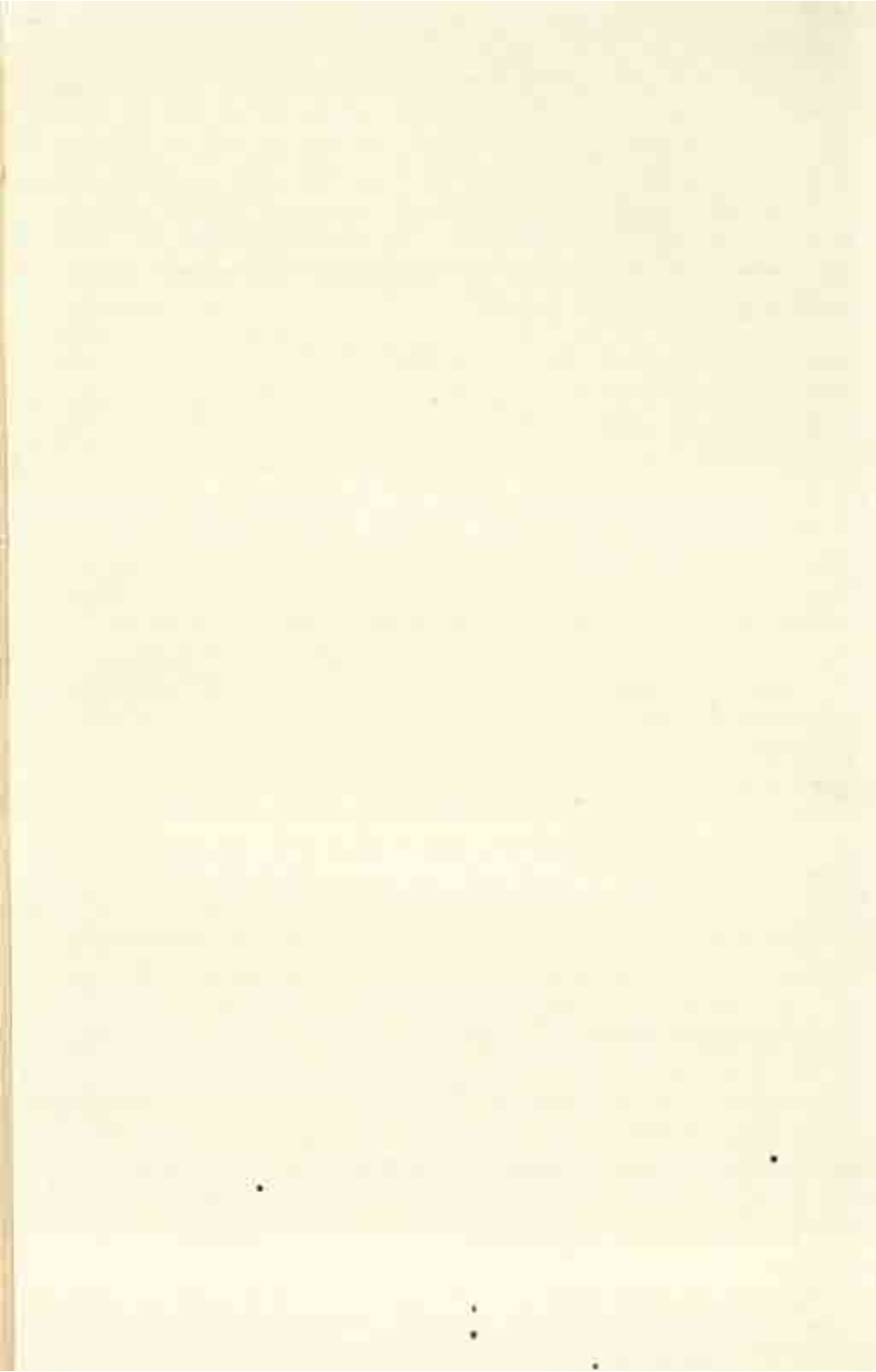
In truth in this our age each one doth mind his own affair;  
 The scorpion's thinking of his sting, the *bulbul* of his air;  
 The bearded chin of beardless cheek, the beardless chin of hair.  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

O dervish friend, my eyes' delight, at large the fields you graze,  
 Who once in schools and colleges did spend laborious days!  
 Naught know you save the lecturer's rhetorical displays;  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

One calls himself a Shaykhi, one calls himself a Bâbi;  
 One faction *Itidali*, one party *Inqilabi*,  
 While in "self-help" another lot unto themselves a Law be:  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

<sup>۱</sup> <sup>۲</sup> The rival sects of the Bâbis and the Shaykhis are well known to all students of modern Persian history. The political parties named *Itidali* ("Moderate") and *Inqilabi* ("Revolutionary") took definite shape after the opening of the Second National Assembly in 1909.





# ملا نصر الدين

اوجونى الى موللا ناسردينى نېمى ۱۲ قېت ۵ N°



سرتېپ جان بويورگېدهك حمامه ..... !! ..... من گيتيردم .....

The Boy-Colonel declines to have his bath  
(From *Mulla Nasru'd-Din*, Year III, No. 2, Feb. 16, 1908)

Some in the name of Islām foul innovations breed;  
 Through love of worldly wealth some turn their faces to Yazīd,  
 And by their hand at his command the Prophet's children bleed<sup>1</sup>,  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

By Royal Warrant this one's a Colonel, that a Knight;  
 Their titles and their honours nor reason have nor right,  
 While purse and pouch and pocket they fill with silver bright.  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

Some in the Nation's name the wealth of others strive to gain,  
 That in the Bank their balance may ever grow amain,  
 That they may eat the choicest meat and drink the best  
 champagne!  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

Some mount the patient camel and thus to Mecca fare;  
 Some in the middle of the mosque are occupied with prayer;  
 While some pursue the women, some seek their joys elsewhere.  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

One takes the name of Friday: one Saturday they call,  
 These fight like cats and dogs and on each other's vitals fall;  
 The fire these wantons kindle burns cotton, wool and all!  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

Some charlatans in journals long articles indite,  
 And though the garb they don is black, the sheets they use are  
 white;  
 And now, alas! his turban casts aside each reverend wight<sup>2</sup>!  
 Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own  
 concern!

<sup>1</sup> The Umayyad Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya, the slayer of al-Husayn, the Prophet's grandson, is the Pontius Pilate of Persia. The allusion here is probably to the incident described on pp. 117-118 of my *Persian Revolution*.

<sup>2</sup> In consternation at the "blasphemous" innovations of the Press.

## (28)

The following poem, signed Sayyid Najaf-i-Bannd ("the Builder"), appeared on May 11, 1911, in No. 7 of the Fourth Year of the *Nasim-i-Shimāl*.

## (1)

این روزنامه بر همه ایران مبارک است  
بر اهل رشت و مردم دهقان مبارک است  
بر زارع گرسنه و عریان مبارک است  
امال از برای فقیران مبارک است

## (2)

فرخنده باد سال به اصناف خون جگر  
فرخنده باد سال غریبان در بدر  
فرخنده باد سال فقیران رنج بر  
بر ساکنان گوشه زندان مبارک است

## (3)

بر زارعان شهید و تبریز و اصفهان  
محنت بران طارم و قزوین و طالقان  
زحمت کشان صفحه شیراز و بهمان  
بر مفلسان خسته و زحمان مبارک است

## (4)

بر لنگرود و لاهیج و شلمان و آشکور  
از انزلی و لشت نشا تا به رود سر  
ماسال و شفت و فوس و بهجات و پیشور  
آن برگزین و حاصل نوغان مبارک است

## (5)

رستم از کمند مظالم هزار شکر  
گفتند جاهلان همه عالم هزار شکر  
چنینم از تعدی ظالم هزار شکر  
مشروطه از برای مسلمان مبارک است



(٦)

ساقی بریز شربت شیرین بحام ما' مطرب بکتوب طبل تبارك بنام ما'  
بلبل بخوان كه گشت مبارك غلام ما' با این غلام سیر حبابان مبارك است'

(٧)

یاز ابتدای کشمکش و قال و قیل شد' تحویل سال تازه به تنگوز بیل شد'  
هنگام انتخاب جناب وکیل شد' این انتخاب تازه بگیلان مبارك است'

(٨)

دعوا نمی کنیم دگر بهر هیچ و بوج' دیگر نمی زنیم بهم کله مثل قوج'  
سالدات روس نیز فروین نموده کوچ' این موده از برای خراسان مبارك است'

(٩)

من بعد دختران همه صاحب هنر شوند' در مکتب علوم همه بهره ور شوند'  
اتدر حقوق علم شریك پسر شوند' این اشتراك عالم توان مبارك است'

(١٠)

جاری شد آبهای عدالت ز چشمه سار' دیگر نمی دهند بما ظالمان فشار'  
آورد شاه تازه ز امریک مستشار' این مستشار تازه بطهران مبارك است'

(١١)

مشغول عیش و نوش خوانین مالدار' قربان زلف ببرکچ رقاص خالدار'  
از يك طرف کمانچه و آواز خوان و تار' آن ماچ و موچ نصف شب خان مبارك است'

(۱۲)

از يك طرف گرسنه فقيرانِ لات و لوت ' محتاجِ روز و شب همه بر قوتِ لا بروت'  
اطنالشان برهنه و لاغر چو عنكبوت ' آن اشكِ شور و آن دلِ بريان مبارك است'

(۱۳)

ايران بود همیشه ز ايراني اى نسيم ' آيد ز غيبِ نصرتِ رحمانى اى نسيم'  
هر چند خوار گشته مسلمانى اى نسيم ' با هو ظهورِ حجتِ امكان مبارك است'  
(امضاء سيد نجف بنا)

The optimistic tone of this poem is partly due to the withdrawal of the Russian troops (except 80 Cossacks, retained as a "Consular Guard") from Qazwin on March 13-15, 1911, alluded to in stanza 8; and partly to the arrival at Anzali on the very day of the poem's publication of Mr Morgan Shuster and the other American advisers, alluded to in stanza 10. This poem is quite easy, and I have not thought it necessary to add a translation, but the following observations may facilitate its comprehension. The newspaper *Nasim-i-Shiml* boasts itself the champion of the poor artisans and peasants, and then gives a long list of the places in Persia where its advent is hailed with joy. Those mentioned in stanza 3 are towns of importance in various parts of Persia, while the twelve villages enumerated in stanza 4 are all in the Caspian provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran. The *Tangûz Yıl* ("Year of the Pig") mentioned in stanza 7 is one of the cycle of twelve years, each called after some animal, brought into Persia by the Tartars (*tangûz* in Oriental Turkish is equivalent to the Ottoman Turkish *domuz*). The translation of stanza 9, which may be of interest to feminists is as follows:—

"Henceforth all the girls shall be educated;  
All shall have their share in the Colleges of Science;  
They shall be equal with the boys in their rights of learning.  
Blessed is this participation of the World of Women!"

Stanzas 11 and 12 contrast the luxury and dissipation of the wealthy nobles with the misery of the poor and their half-starved children. The last stanza expresses confidence that God's help will keep Persia for the Persians, however gloomy the outlook may be.

The two following poems both appeared in the *Nastm-i-Shimal* of July 30, 1911 (No. 10 of the Third Year), and both refer to the recent attempt (July 19, 1911) of the ex-Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī (aided and abetted by the Russians) to recover his lost throne, an attempt which was ended on September 5 by what the *Times* correspondent described as "a decisive and brilliant victory of the government troops," the execution of *Arshadi'd-Dawla*, the ex-Shāh's best and most devoted general, and the flight of the ex-Shāh himself on a Russian ship on September 7.

## (29)

The first of these two poems, entitled "Congratulation" (*Tabrik*), is a very short one and runs as follows.

## (1)

دیدى به استرabad آمد بلای ناگاه'      يعنى که سر بر آورد آن مستبد خود خواه'  
خوب اتفاق کردند اين فرقه‌هاى همراه'      زين اتفاق ملى به به تبارك الله'

## (2)

م اتفاق دارند هم صحت ترقى'      از اومنى مسلمان در دعوت ترقى'  
غرقند اهل ايران در لذت ترقى'      آخر رغيه دق کرد آن ريش بهن گمراه'  
زين اتفاق ملى به به تبارك الله'

## (3)

م خيل اعتنائى م فرقه دموکرات'      دست برادرى را دادند از مساوت'  
ايران و مستبدین هيهات ثم هيهات'      عادل به آسمان شد ظالم فتاد در جاه'  
زين اتفاق احزاب به به تبارك الله'

## (Translation)

(1)

Behold o'er Astarábad what sudden plague is spread,  
 For there that selfish despot once more doth rear his head.  
 How well divergent factions to meet this plague combine!  
 God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(2)

All, all combine together, for Progress is their quest,  
 And Muslim and Armenian each strives to do his best;  
 Absorbed are all the Persians in this endeavour blessed.  
 With hope deferred is wasted this vagrant libertine!  
 God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(3)

The Democrats and Moderates, like one fraternity,  
 Unite their bands and join their hands in all equality:  
 Persia and rule of Despots—remote may these two be!  
 The just are now exalted, the tyrants loud repine;  
 God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(30)

The next poem, described as a *rajas* (a term applied to heroic, or in this case mock-heroic verse) is supposed to express the feelings of the ex-Sháh Muḥammad 'Alí on beholding the failure of his efforts to regain the throne which for two years and a half he so unworthily filled.

(رجز)

من مردم مشهور بی تنگ و عار / که بودم همیشه بخواب و خمار  
 اگرچه مرا گنده گشت شکم / ولی گردنم آب شد دنیوار  
 اگر سوی طهران نیام گذر / کم جمله را شقه قصاب وار  
 همه خلق را از صغیر و کبیر / به نوب (شریئل) به بندم قطار  
 بستم سر نائب السلطنة / که کار مرا کرده از عقل زار



بر آرم بمجاوی ذلت برون  
 ز سردار اسعد بدرم جگر  
 همان یارلمان را بستم خوب  
 همه خلق را چون شیش می کشم  
 و کیلان بستم یک ریسمان  
 نهادم سرم را بروی زمین  
 گرفتم بعنوان باج سیل  
 طلاها و یاقوت و دریای نور  
 برای تماشای (مانشکه) من  
 چو اندر (اودس) پولها نه کشید  
 فقط اسم خود را نمودم عوض  
 اگر چه بود نام من ممدلی  
 کنم نهر از خون ملت روان  
 مجلل روان شد سوی اردبیل  
 یکی ارشد الدوله چون لاک پشت  
 خودم در (گمش نه) ظاهر شدم  
 بدل بغض باشد مرا از سه جا  
 خصوصاً ز تبریز ویران شده  
 مرا گریه گیرد که در جنگ باریک  
 اگر شهر طهران شود جلوه گر  
 ز بنال و نال و سوزی فروش  
 ز شهری و دهقانی و زنجیر  
 دو چشمان احمد شه نامدار  
 سپیدار را می کنم یار یار  
 که حلای مشروطه شد زهر مار  
 تحریک همسایه نا بیکار  
 وزیران تمام همه تار و مار  
 شدم غایب از چشم ملت چومار  
 بسای ز خلق اشرقی صد هزار  
 بشد صرف در بزم عیش و قمار  
 زدم تنک و دائره حلقه دار  
 چه قاصد به بلوک کردم گذار  
 محمد حسین رند کامل عیار  
 دلی نیستم من منم عقل دار  
 از این استرپاد تا سزوار  
 دریغا که با وی شد بخت یار  
 بشد در ارومیه مشغول کار  
 که ویران کم جمله شهر و دیار  
 ز تبریز و کیلان و از بختیار  
 که ستار زد بر وجودم شرار  
 چرا يك نفر زنده کرده فرار  
 برون آرم از اهل طهران دمار  
 ز قصاب و عطار و از خشکار  
 چه از پیر مرد و چه از شیر خوار

ز نَحَّار و آهنگر و کفش دوز<sup>۱</sup>      ز بَرّاز و از زرگر و خورده کار<sup>۲</sup>  
 چنان خون بریزم که روی زمین<sup>۱</sup>      زند موج قرمز جو گلپای نار<sup>۲</sup>  
 ولی بسته دست قضا دست من<sup>۱</sup>      شکسته است پشت مرا روزگار<sup>۲</sup>  
 فقیرم فقیرم فقیرم فقیر<sup>۱</sup>      ندارم ندارم ندارم ندار<sup>۲</sup>  
 شکم ای شکم ای شکم ای شکم<sup>۱</sup>      تو کردی مرا اینجین خوار و زار<sup>۲</sup>  
 بیدار بیدار سلام علیک<sup>۱</sup>      کجائی بدادم برس ای هوار<sup>۲</sup>  
 شنیدم که سردار محبی ز ری<sup>۱</sup>      بهمازندران می شود رهسپار<sup>۲</sup>  
 یقین دارم این دفعه با این شکم<sup>۱</sup>      معلقی زنان میروم روی دار<sup>۲</sup>  
 نه در کبسه بول و نه در کله عقل<sup>۱</sup>  
 نه پای گریز و نه راه فرار<sup>۲</sup>

## (Translation)

- (1) "I am that famous, shameless libertine  
 Whose days and nights were passed twixt sleep and wine!  
 Although my belly daily larger grows,  
 My strength is waning like the melting snows.  
 Could I to Tih-rân once an entrance gain  
 Its people butcher-like I'd cleave in twain,  
 And its inhabitants, both great and small,  
 With shot and shrapnel I would dose them all!
- (5) As for the Regent<sup>1</sup>, off his head should go,  
 Who caused my projects to miscarry so;  
 And with my pen-knife out the eyes I'd bring  
 Of Sultân Ahmâd Shâh, the reigning king<sup>2</sup>;  
 Out the Sardâr-i-As'ad's heart I'd take,  
 And the Sipahdâr into mince-meat make;  
 The Parliament with cannons I would shake,  
 For freedom's balm to me's a poisoned snake;

<sup>1</sup> Mirzâ Abu'l-Qâsim Khân Nâsiri'l-Mulk, elected Regent (*Nâ'ib-i-Saltânâ*) on September 23, 1910, immediately after the death of his predecessor *Asadu'l-Mulk*.

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded to the throne on July 18, 1909, on his father's deposition.

- And, by my worthless Northern Friend's advice,  
I'd crush the folk, as though they were but lice;
- (10) The Deputies to one long rope I'd tie,  
And topsy-turvy turn the Ministry.  
Now in the dust my head is bowed, and I  
Glide like a serpent from the Nation's eye.  
A hundred thousand guineas in a year  
I wrung as 'road-tax' from the people's fear.  
The 'Sea of Light',<sup>1</sup> gold, rubies beyond price  
I squandered on my drinking bouts and dice.  
To please my Russian mistress when she's glum  
I play the tambourine and beat the drum.
- (15) How in Odessa, when my funds ran low,  
To Belgium sped my agents, all men know.  
Only to change my name I did decide—  
'Muhammad Husayn, rascal double-dyed.'  
Although the vulgar call me '*Mamdali*'  
I'm not '*dali*'; in wits few equal me!  
The people's blood in streams I'll cause to pour  
From Astarábad unto Sabzawár!  
To Ardabíl *Mujallat* swift doth hie;  
Alas! Ill-fortune bears him company!
- (20) *Arshad-i'-Dawla*, like a tortoise slow,  
At Urmiya about my work doth go.  
My flag at Gyumush-tepé I display,  
Hoping in ruins town and land to lay.  
Thought of three foes my heart with hate doth freeze—  
The Bakhtiyáris, Gilán and Tabriz.  
But most of all Tabriz—that ruined land  
Where Sattár Khán this conflagration planned.  
I weep to think that one escaped alive  
Of those my foes who in the Park did strive<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This celebrated diamond (the *Daryá-yi-Núr*) is the companion gem to the still more celebrated *Koh-i-núr* ("Mountain of Light").

<sup>2</sup> "*Mamdali*" is the vulgar contraction of *Muhammad 'Alí*. The meaning of the Turkish word "*dali*" (or "*dell*") is "mad."

<sup>3</sup> This alludes to the conflict of August 7, 1910, in the Atábak's Park at Tihrán, on the occasion of the disarming of the *fidai* *tr.*

- (25) Should Tihlán once again become my share  
 Not one of all its people will I spare.  
 Of grocer, baker and of caterer,  
 Of druggist, butcher and of fruiterer,  
 Townsman and peasant, toilers without rest,  
 Of aged men and children at the breast,  
 Of blacksmith, joiner, carpenter therewith,  
 Of draper and of pedlar and goldsmith,  
 The blood in such wise on the earth I'll shed  
 That it shall form a sea with waves of red!
- (30) But cruel fate has tied my hands, alack!  
 And fortune sinister doth break my back!  
 I'm poor, I'm poor, I'm poor, I'm poor indeed;  
 I have not, have not, have not, aught I need!  
 O belly, belly, belly, belly mine,  
 'Tis you who cause me thus to grieve and pine!  
 To thee, Bahádur, greetings do I send;  
 Where art thou? Help me, O my trusty friend!  
 Sardár Muhiyy, I hear, hath marched from Ray,  
 And wends towards Mázandarán his way.
- (35) This time, for all my bulging paunch, I feel  
 That on the gibbet I shall dance a reel!  
 With empty purse and brains of sense bereft,  
 I've neither foot to fly nor refuge left!"

## (31)

The following poem, like the last, is supposed to express the feelings of the ex-Sháh Muḥammad 'Alí after the failure of his attempt to regain the throne in August, 1911. It appeared in the *Nasim-i-Shimál* (No. 12 of the Third Year) on September 11, 1911. It contains a certain number of slang or colloquial expressions, especially in the last *bayt* of each stanza, e.g. *namt-shé* (= *namt-sharwad*), *Mamdál* (= *Muḥammad 'Alí*), *Shá* (for *Sháh*), *mí-khád* (for *mí-khwdhád*), *mí-khám* (for *mí-khwdham*), etc. I have not thought it necessary to add a translation of this poem.



(زبان حال مهدی)

(۱)

ای قلیک این چه باطلی است که چیدستی تو' چه زبردستی تو'  
 دلِ اعداء و وطن را زحشا خستی تو' جفندر پستی تو'  
 عهد با هموطنان پستی و بشکستی تو' گوئیا مستی تو'  
 کمترین مهلیم' داروغه' اندرلیم' تره حلوانمیشه' مهدی بگ شانمیشه'

(۲)

مهدی نکیه بقول و غزلِ روس نمود' ترک ناموس نمود'  
 خویش را در نظری اهلِ وطن لوس نمود' کار معکوس نمود'  
 هوس حمله بخت جم و کاویر نمود' میل پا بوس نمود'  
 کله اش تاج مجاد' باج ز لبلاچ مجاد' تره حلوانمیشه' مهدی بگ شانمیشه'

(۳)

مهدی اشک همی ریخت مثالِ باران' از فراقِ باران'  
 ترکمانها همه کردند فرار از میدان' همه در خون غلطان'  
 هدفِ تیرِ بلا گشت رشید السُلطان' لعنِ حقِ بر شیطان'  
 گولِ شیطان خوردم' آبروی خود بردم' خرقه شولانمیشه' مهدی بگ شانمیشه'

(۴)

تا ز روسیه در این خاک سرازیر شدم' طعمه شیر شدم'  
 جبره ام قطع شد از غصه زمین گیر شدم' همچو تصویر شدم'  
 ارشد الدوله جو شد کشته زجان سیر شدم' خود بخود پیر شدم'  
 بشکسته کمرم' خاک دو عالم بمرم' تره حلوانمیشه' مهدی بگ شانمیشه'

(5)

طرف سردار ظفرمند که محبی نام است / فتح بر وی رام است  
 بجتباری است که در معرکه چون صمصام است / ضیغم و ضرغام است  
 بفرم آمد بگریزد که قتل عام است / مهدی گمنام است  
 دیدی آخر چون شد / مثله دیگرگون شد / تره حلوانمیشه / مهدی بگ شایمیشه

(6)

موسم بود جمیع وزرارا بکشم / وکلارا بکشم  
 دستخط یاره نمایم علمارا بکشم / عقالرا بکشم  
 جمله اصناف و عموم فقرارا بکشم / غریبارا بکشم  
 مال مولارا میخام / چته وشولارا میخام / تره حلوانمیشه / مهدی بگ شایمیشه

Of the persons alluded to in this poem, *Rashidu's-Sultán* was defeated by the Bakhtiয়ারís at Fírúzkúh on August 11, 1911, and was said to have been shot or to have died of his wounds two days later. *Arshadu'd-Dawla*, the best and most capable of the ex-Sháh's generals, was taken prisoner and shot by Yeprem Khán, the great Armenian general of the Constitutionalists, on September 5, 1911. A very graphic account of this event, by Mr W. A. Moore, appeared in the *Times* a day or two later. The *Sardár-i-Muhyi* was the real leader of the Rasht army in the summer of 1909. Photographs of both him and Yeprem Khán will be found facing p. 436 of my *Persian Revolution*. The other three persons mentioned in stanza 5 are well-known chiefs of the Bakhtiয়ারís.

(32)

The following poem appeared in the *Charand Parand* column of the *Šár-i-Isráfil* (No. 24) for February 27, 1908. It is entitled *Ru'ásá wa Millat* ("the Leaders and the Nation"), and is difficult to understand fully, being written in the language employed by mothers in speaking to their small children. Of all the poems

here cited it is the most remote from the ordinary literary language. The "leaders of the people" are, apparently, represented as an ignorant mother, and the Nation as a sickly child, who finally expires in its mother's arms in consequence of her mismanagement.

(رؤسا و ملت)

خاک ب سرم! بچه بهوش آمده	ب خواب نه نه: بکمر دو گوش آمده
گریه نکن: لولو می آد میسوره	گریه می آد بزبزی را می بره
اهه! اهه! آخر نه نه چنه؟ گشنه	بتره کی! این همه خوردی: کمه؟
چخ چخ سگه! نازی پشی پیش پیش!	لالای جونم گلم باشی کیش کیش!
از گشنگی نه نه دارم جون میلم	گریه نکن! فردا بهت نون میلم
ای وای نه نه! جونم داره در میره!	گریه نکن! دیزه داره سر میره
دستم آخش! به بین چطو بیخ شده	تف تف جونم به بین مومه اخ شده
سرم چرا آنفده چرخ می زنه؟	توی سرت شی پشه چا می کنه
خخ خخ... جونم چت شد؟ هاق هاق!	وای خاله! چشمات چرا افتاد بطلاق
آخ نش م بیا به بین سرد شده	رنگش چرا (خاک ب سرم) زرد شده
وای بیجم رفت زکف رود رود	ماند بین آه و اسف رود رود!!

(Translation)

- (1) Dust on my head<sup>1</sup>! The child has woken up! Go to sleep, my pet; the Bogey-man<sup>2</sup> is coming!  
Don't cry! The ogre<sup>3</sup> will come and eat you up! The cat will come and take away your kiddy<sup>4</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> This expression is equivalent to "Botheration take me!"

<sup>2</sup> Literally "the two-eared one-head," an imaginary monster with which children are intimidated.

<sup>3</sup> *Lili* is another kind of bogey.

<sup>4</sup> *Buzbut* is anything, such as a pet animal or a toy, to which a child is much attached.

Oh, oh! What ails you<sup>1</sup>, my pet? "I am hungry" [you say]<sup>2</sup>? May you burst<sup>3</sup>! You have eaten all this; is it too little<sup>4</sup>?

Get out<sup>5</sup>, dog! Pussy, puss, puss, come here! Hushaby, darling! You are my rose! Hush, hush!

(5) "Mamma! I am ready to die with hunger!" Don't cry! To-morrow I will give you bread!

"O dear, Mamma! My life is ready to leave me!" Don't cry! The pot is just on the boil!

"O my hand! See, it is as cold as ice!" Fie, fie, my Soul! See, the breast is dry<sup>6</sup>!

"Why does my head spin so?" [Because] the lice are digging holes in your head!

*Akh-kh-kh!*...What ails you, my Soul? *Hāq, hāq!* O my Aunt<sup>7</sup>! Why are its eyes turned up to the ceiling?

(10) Come here! Alas, see, its body also has become cold! Dust on my head! Why has its colour turned so pale?

(11) Woe is me! My child is gone from my hands! Alas, alas! To me there remain but sighs and grief! Alas, alas<sup>8</sup>!

### (33)

I do not know whether or where the following poem was published, but its title, "On the departure of Mr Shuster from Persia," sufficiently fixes its date as the latter part of the year 1911. Mr Shuster's dismissal was demanded by the Russian Government on November 29 of that year, and he handed over his charge to Mr Cairns on January 7, 1912, and left Tih-rān four days later. The poem is by 'Ārif of Qazwīn.

<sup>1</sup> *Chit?* = *chit-at*, "What is to thee?" "What ails thee?"

<sup>2</sup> *Gurūma* = *gurūma-am*, <sup>3</sup> = بطرخی. <sup>4</sup> *Kamē* = *kam-az*.

<sup>5</sup> *Chik!* ("get out!") is probably Turkish, from the verb *chikmaq* (*chikmay*).

<sup>6</sup> Persian mothers, when they wish to wean their babies, smear the nipple with some black or bitter substance (such as opium) to make the child recoil from it. Speaking of this they say, *Mamē azh khuda* ("the nipple has gone sour").

<sup>7</sup> *Hāq, hāq* is an onomatopoeic word indicating sobbing.

<sup>8</sup> This is the literal rendering of *Wāy, Khāla!*—an exclamation used by Persian women in a manner similar to the corresponding English vulgarity.

<sup>9</sup> The exclamation "*Rūd, rūd!*" is used by women in lamenting the bad conduct or the death of an only and much-loved child.





نگه اېک وروپ پشاور

پشاور پشاور جنک پشاور

شیرا - ایرو و استقلال وطن

England (l.) and Russia (r.) endeavouring to drive out Mr W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General of Persia.

From No. 3 of the *Shirazi*, Nov. 25, 1911



در باب حرکت مسبو شُستر از ایران<sup>۱</sup>

(۱)

ننگ آن خانه که مهمان ز سر خوان برود<sup>۱</sup> جان نثارش کن و مگذار که مهمان برود<sup>۱</sup>  
گر رود شُستر از ایران رود ایران بر باد<sup>۱</sup> ای جوانان مگذارید که ایران برود<sup>۱</sup>

(۲)

شد مسلمانان ما بین وزیران تقسیم<sup>۱</sup> هر که تقسیمی خود کرد بدشمن تقدیم<sup>۱</sup>  
حزبی اندر طلبت در سر يك رأی مقیم<sup>۱</sup> کافریم از بگذارم که ایمان برود<sup>۱</sup>

(۳)

مشت دزدی شده امروز درین ملك وزیر<sup>۱</sup> تو درین مملکت امروز خیری و بصیر<sup>۱</sup>  
دست بردامنت آویخته يك مشت فقیر<sup>۱</sup> تو اگر رفتی ازین مملکت عتوان برود<sup>۱</sup>

(۴)

شد لبالب دگر از حوصله پنهان<sup>۱</sup> دزد خواهد بزمختی بسرود خانه ما<sup>۱</sup>  
ننگ تاریخی عالم شود افسانه ما<sup>۱</sup> بگذارم اگر شُستر از ایران برود<sup>۱</sup>

(۵)

سگ چویان شده با گرگ جو لیلی محزون<sup>۱</sup> یاسان گله امروز شبانی است چون<sup>۱</sup>  
شد بدست خود آن کعبه دل کن فیکون<sup>۱</sup> یار مگذار کزین خانه ویران برود<sup>۱</sup>

(۶)

تو مروگر برود جان و سر وهستی ما<sup>۱</sup> کور شد دیده بدخواه ز همدستی ما<sup>۱</sup>  
در فراق بخماری بکشد منی ما<sup>۱</sup> ناله عارف ازین درد بکویان برود<sup>۱</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As adapted for singing, the word **برود** is repeated at the end of each line where it occurs, and the word **حبيبم** at the end of the other lines, while the following refrain is repeated at the end of each stanza:—

بجسم مرده جانی<sup>۱</sup> تو جان يك جهانی<sup>۱</sup> تو گنج شایگانی<sup>۱</sup> تو عمر جاودانی<sup>۱</sup>  
خدا خدا کند بجانی<sup>۱</sup> خدا خدا کند بجانی<sup>۱</sup>

## (Translation)

## (1)

Shame on the host whose guest unfed doth from the table rise!  
 Rather than this should happen, make thy life his sacrifice!  
 Should Shuster fare from Persia forth, Persia is lost in sooth;  
 O let not Persia thus be lost, if ye be men in truth!

## (2)

Behold, these Ministers of ours! our Muslimhood divide,  
 And each unto our common foe his portion doth confide;  
 One party still\* in unison demands that thou should'st stay;  
 We're naught but heathens if we let our Faith thus slip away!

## (3)

To-day a gang of thieves become the guardians of our land:  
 In all this Kingdom thou alone dost see and understand!  
 Close clinging to thy skirts a band of suppliants are we,  
 For, should'st thou go, our Country's name, alas! will go with thee!

## (4)

Our cup is full unto the brim, our measure overflows;  
 Our homes are meanly filched away by base and cruel foes!  
 And if we suffer Shuster now to leave our Persian land  
 Eternal infamy our name in history shall brand!

## (5)

The wolf and shepherd's dog are one like Laylá and Majnún<sup>2</sup>;  
 A cowardly herdsman guards the flock and will betray it soon.  
 O what creative energy our Hearts' Exemplar<sup>3</sup> showed!  
 Let not our faithful guardian quit our desolate abode!

## (6)

O leave us not, although our life and thought are merged in night!  
 The eyes of those who wish us ill grow blind when we unite:  
 But, left by thee, the banquet's glee turns to reaction drear,  
 And thus it is that 'Árif's wail doth reach to Saturn's sphere!<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Cabinet who effected the dissolution of the *Majlis* in December, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the so-called "Democrats," who were the patriotic party.

<sup>3</sup> Laylá and Majnún are the typical lovers of Eastern romance.

<sup>4</sup> The "Ár'áz of hearts" is that to which men's hearts turn as the Faithful turn towards Mecca. "Ár'az fa-yakín" ("Be! and it is") is God's Creative Word.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* the seventh and highest heaven, which is the "Sphere of Saturn."





The Poet 'Arif of Qazwin



(34)

The following *qaṣīda*, entitled "A Critical Tribute to Sir Edward Grey," appeared in the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matin* of November 11, 1912, and is by the poet *Bahār* of Mashhad, entitled *Malikū'sh-Shu'arā* ("the King of poets").

(مجناب سر ادوارد گری : يك هدیه ناقدانه)

سوی لندن گذر ای پاك نسیم بحری	سخنی از من برگو به سر ادورد گری
کای خردمند وزیرى که نیروورده جهان	چون تو دستور خردمند و وزیر هنری
نقشه بطر بر قشر تو نقش بر آب	رای بنژمارك بر رای تو رائی سهری
ز تولون جیش ناپلیون نگذشتی گر بود	بر قرار هزمان نام تو در جلوه گری
داشتی پاریس اگر عهد تو در کف نشدی	سوی الزاس و لورن لشکر المان سفری
انگلیس از تو میخواست در امر يك مدد	بسته میشد به واشنگتن ره پرخاشگری
با کماندر چیف اگر فر تو بودی همراه	به بویر بسته شدی سخت ره حمله وری
ور به منجوری پتیک تو بد رهبر روس	نشد از ژاپون جیش کروپانکین کبری
بود اگر فکر تو با عائله مانجو بار	انقلابیون بر شاه نگشتند جری
ور بدی رای تو ناپر بجات ایران	این همه ناله نمی مانند بدون اثری
مثل است اینکه چو بر مرد شود تیره جهان	آن کند کش نه بکار آید ازو کارگری
تو بدین دانش افسوس که چون بگردان	کردی آن کار که افسوس جز ازوی نبری
بر گشودی در صد ساله فرو بسته هند	بر رخ روس و ترسیدی از در بدری
بچه گرگ در آغوش پروریدی و نیست	این مماشاة جز از بخودی و بخیری
"ببخودانه بستمای زبردست حریف"	در نهادی سر تسلیم زهی خیره سری
اندران عهد که با روس بستى زمین پیش	غن ها بود و ندیدی تو ز کوه نظری

نو خود از تبت و ایران و ز افغانستان  
 تو ز موصل بگشودی ره آن تا زابل  
 زمین پس بهر نگهداری این هر سه طریق  
 بهش از فائدت هند اگر گردد صرف  
 انگلیس آن ضرری را که ازین پیمان بُرد  
 نه همین زیر می روس شود ایران پست  
 ور همی گونی روس از سر پیمان نرود  
 در هر نفع سیاسی نکند پیمان کار  
 خاصه چون روس که او شبنه باشد برهند  
 ورنه این روس ز يك نوطه چرا در ایران  
 در خراسان که همین ره رو هندست چرا  
 فتنه را از چه بها کرد و چرا آخر کار  
 سه روس ز تبریز کنون تا به سرخس  
 هله کز مشرق ما امن بود تا بشمال  
 گرچه خود بی ثمری نیست که این جیش گزین  
 سفر ایشان هند است و نمائشان هند  
 ویژه گر پای پیشاری تا از خطِ روس  
 بعدو خطِ ترن رها نزدیک کند  
 سدّ پس معتبری ایران بُد در ره هند  
 باد ترن بلجاجت که لجاجت بر داشت  
 ساختی پیشِ ره خصم بنای سه دری  
 وز ره تبت تسلیم شدی تا به هری  
 نیم ملبار قشون باید بجری و بری  
 عاقبت فائدت نیست بجز خون جگری  
 تو ندانستی و داند بدوی و حضری  
 بلکه افغانی ویران شود و کاشغری  
 رُو بتاریخ نگر تا که عجائب نگری  
 این نه من گوم کاین هست ز طبع بشری  
 همچو شاهین که بود شبنه بر کک دری  
 راند قزاق و نهاد افسر بیدادگری  
 کرد این مایه قشون بی سبی راهبری  
 کرد بستوده چنان کار بدان منتھری  
 بیش از بیست هزارند چو نیکو شمیری  
 سه روس چرا مانده بدین بی ثمری  
 سفری کردن خواهند بعد ناموری  
 هند خواهند بلی نرم تتان خزری  
 خطِ آهن بسوی هند کند رهبری  
 تا تو دیگر نروی راه بدین پر خطری  
 وه که بر داشته شد سدّ بدین منتھری  
 برده از کار و فرو بست رخ پر هنری



بلجاج و بغرض کردی کاری که بدو طاعت راند عرب دشتی و ترک تنبری  
 حیف از آن خاطر دانای تو و رای رزین که درین مسئله زد بیهوده خود را بکری  
 زهی آن خاطر دانای رزین تو زهی  
 فری آن فکر توانای منین تو فری  
 (ملك الشعراء بهار)

*(Translation)*

- To London speed, O breeze of dawning day,  
 Bear this my message to Sir Edward Grey.  
 To thee in skill, wise Councillor of State,  
 Ne'er did the world produce a peer or mate!  
 Great Peter's schemes to thine were shifting sand,  
 And weak by thine the plans that Bismarck planned.  
 Ne'er from Toulon Napoleon's hosts had gone  
 If on the Pyramids thy name had shone.  
 (5) Had Paris been in league with thee, in vain  
 The German hosts had swamped Alsace-Lorraine.  
 Had England 'gainst the States sought help from thee  
 No Washington had won them victory.  
 Had thy prestige companioned England's arms  
 Ne'er had the Boers caused England such alarms.  
 Would Kuropatkin's hosts before Japan  
 Had fled had he been guided by thy plan?  
 Had the Manchus been aided by thy thought  
 The rebels ne'er against their king had fought.  
 (10) And had thy schemes included Persia's life  
 Not fruitless had remained this storm and strife.  
 "When fortune frowns on man," the proverb goes,  
 "His wisest act no good resultant shows."  
 Alas that thou, for all thy wits, hast wrought  
 A deed which save regret can yield thee naught!  
 For India's gates, closed for a hundred years,  
 To Russia now you open without fears.

- You nurse the wolf-cub in your arms: a deed  
Which folly prompts, and which to grief will lead.
- (15) To this o'erbearing partner you submit,  
And bow your head, bereft of sense and wit.  
Your pacts with Russia made in time gone by  
Brought loss unseen by your short-sighted eye.  
In Afghánistán, Persia and Tibet  
Before your foe a three-doored wall you've set,  
Mosul to Sístán's now an open way:  
Herát, Tibet they claim, nor fear your "Nay!"  
Henceforth this three-fold road to watch, indeed,  
A million men on land and sea you'll need.
- (20) India's advantage if you squander so  
Naught will you reap except remorse and woe.  
You knew not, though both town and desert knew,  
What hurt to England would from this accrue.  
Not Persia only feels the Russian squeeze;  
'Tis felt by Afgháns and by Káshgharís!  
"Russia her pact will keep," you answer me:  
Her records read, and wondrous things you'll see!  
Not I but human nature tells you plain  
That pacts weigh naught compared with present gain;
- (25) The more since Russia longs for India still  
As longs the hawk for partridge on the hill;  
Else why did she o'er Persian lands let loose  
Her Cossack hordes to crown her long abuse?  
Why in Khurásán, India's broad highway,  
Do all these troops of hers unmotivated stay?  
Such mischief wherefore hath she wrought, and why  
Done deeds redounding to her infamy?  
From Tabriz to Sarakhs her soldiers dwell,  
Some twenty thousand, if you count them well.
- (30) From North to East our land all peaceful lay:  
Why without reason do the Russians stay?  
Reason, forsooth! The Russians there remain  
Waiting for some more glorious campaign  
With India for its goal: this goal they crave,  
These pampered pirates of the Caspian Wave!

- The more so should you culpably delay  
 Till Russian rails to India find their way.  
 These rails shall bring thy foeman near to thee :  
 Avoid such roads so fraught with jeopardy !
- (35) 'Twas Persia barred the road : woe worth the day  
 Which swept this ancient barrier away !  
 O cursed obstinacy, which did raise  
 This veil, and set the feet in such a maze !  
 Headstrong and rash you wrought a deed of shame  
 Which stolid Turk and vagrant Arab blame.  
 Woe to that judgement cool, that reason bright,  
 Which now have put you in so dire a plight !  
 All hail that judgement, hail that insight rare,  
 Of which, men say, you hold so large a share !

## (35)

The following poem, entitled "An offering of thanks and welcome to the honoured and revered guest," is a curious protest against the intrusion of Germany (real or supposed) into Persian affairs; for, by the generality of Persians, Germany was favourably regarded as friendly to Islām and hostile to Russia. It appeared in No. 17 of the illustrated comic paper *Asarbayjān* on October 11, 1907.

(عرضِ تشکر و خیر مقدم، مهمان معزز و محترم)

(قدمتِ خیر مقدم اہلاً و مرحباً، بک یا المانیا)

مہمان تازہ واردِ ابرار خوش آمدی ' بالای چشم جای تو المان خوش آمدی '  
 ایران بخوان ماند و یگانگات بضیف ' ناخوانده مہمان سرِ ابنِ خوان خوش آمدی '  
 صبحِ وصال شکر خدا را نمود رخ ' آمد بسر لبالی ہجرات خوش آمدی '  
 از بہر صد مرغِ دلِ عاشقات زار ' دردست دام و دانه بدامان خوش آمدی '  
 ' بہ ' دعوی حمایتِ اسلام و مسلمین ' گشتی دخیلِ جوزہ دزدان خوش آمدی '  
 لیکن جو بردماند حریران ہر آئینہ بود ' ترسم شود نصیبِ تو حرمان خوش آمدی '

اسلام بود یکس و بی داد رس کنون' صد شکر یافت چون تو نگهبان خوش آمدی'  
 من نیک می شناسمت ای رند' بر فسون' احسنت خوان مگر تو شیطان خوش آمدی'  
 پیوسته شامل است باسلام لطف تو' ما عاجز از لوازم شکران خوش آمدی'  
 'دادی ز حبله دست محبت بدست ترک' خواندی بگوش آبه' خسران خوش آمدی'  
 و آنکه باسم یاری سلطان ملک فارس' گشتی بسوی طغنه شنایان خوش آمدی'  
 از صدمه که دید مرا کش ز چون تو دوست' هرگز ندیده بود ز عدوان خوش آمدی'  
 فارغ ز کار آن دو بگردیده بی درنگ' گشتی بهر فارس نمایان خوش آمدی'  
 از بهر سرتراشی یک مشت بی گناه' در کف گرفته ثبغک بران خوش آمدی'  
 'رندانه با بهانه دار التوت و بانک' نائل شدی به مقصد پنهان خوش آمدی'  
 ببانک قفای هنوز ز ما میرسد بجرخ' از دست بانک روس و بریطان خوش آمدی'  
 الفقه نیست چاره ما گوئیم کنون' جز انقیاد حکم فرنگان خوش آمدی'  
 'لیکن یک قرار نماید دوار جرخ  
 نوید گو مباش ز بزدان خوش آمدی'

(امضا : م . ج . خ)

(Translation)

("Fortunate is your advent! Greeting and Welcome to thee,  
 O Germany!")

"O newly-arrived guest of Persia, welcome!  
 O Germany! Your place is on our eyes: welcome!  
 Persia is like a well-filled table with foreigners for guests;  
 O guest unbidden to this table, welcome!  
 Thanks be to God! The morning of union hath appeared;  
 The nights of separation have come to an end: welcome!  
 To take captive the bird-like hearts of your unhappy lovers  
 With the snare in your hand and the grain in your apron,  
 welcome!



- (5) Claiming to be the protector of Islām and the Muslims  
 Thou hast entered the gang of thieves : welcome !  
 But, since your competitors have carried off all that there  
 was,  
 I am afraid that disappointment may be your portion :  
 welcome !  
 Islām was friendless and helpless ; now  
 A hundred thanks, it has found a guardian like thee :  
 welcome !  
 I know thee well, O libertine of many spells !  
 The Devil sings the praises of thy cunning : welcome !  
 Thy favour ever embraces Islām ; we are unable to voice  
 the thanks which are your due : welcome !
- (10) Cunning prompted thee to extend the hand of friendship  
 to the Turk ;  
 Thou didst whisper into his ear the verse of loss : welcome !  
 Then, on the pretext of friendship for the Sultan of Fez,  
 Thou didst hasten towards Tangier : welcome !  
 The injury which Morocco experienced from such a friend  
 as thee  
 It had never experienced from the enmity [of another] :  
 welcome !  
 Having finished with the affairs of these two, without delay  
 Thou didst appear in the land of Persia : welcome !  
 To shear the heads of a handful of innocents  
 Thou bringest in thy hand a sharp razor : welcome !
- (15) Wantonly, with pretexts of College and Bank,  
 Thou hast attained thy secret object : welcome !  
 Our cry of lamentation still rises to heaven  
 On account of the Russian and British Banks : welcome !  
 In short it seems that we have now no option  
 Save to submit to the orders of the Franks : welcome !
- (18) Yet the circling heaven remains not in one position ;  
 Say, ' Despair not of God ! ' Welcome ! "

[Signed : *M. J. KH.*]

<sup>1</sup> Concerning German activities in Persia at this period (1907) see my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 178 and 187.

# ADDITIONAL POEMS RECEIVED WHILE THE BOOK WAS GOING THROUGH THE PRESS.

POEMS BY *BAHĀR* OF MASHHAD,  
ENTITLED *MALIKU'SH-SHU'ARA*, OR  
"THE KING OF POETS."

At the end of October, 1913, I received through one of my Persian friends a collection of fifteen poems by *Bahār* of Mashhad, transcribed by the poet's own hand, only one of which (No. 20, pp. 218-20 *supra*) had previously reached me. These poems range in date from Jumāda i, A.H. 1327, to Ramāzan, A.H. 1329 (= May-June, 1909, to August-September, 1911), and most if not all of them appeared in the Mashhad papers *Khurāsān*, *Tūs* and *Naw Bahār*, while the most celebrated of them (referred to above as already included in this book) also appeared in the *Hafti'l-Matn*, *Irān-i-Naw* and *Taragqi*. I shall give a short description of these fifteen poems and the full text of several of the most striking.

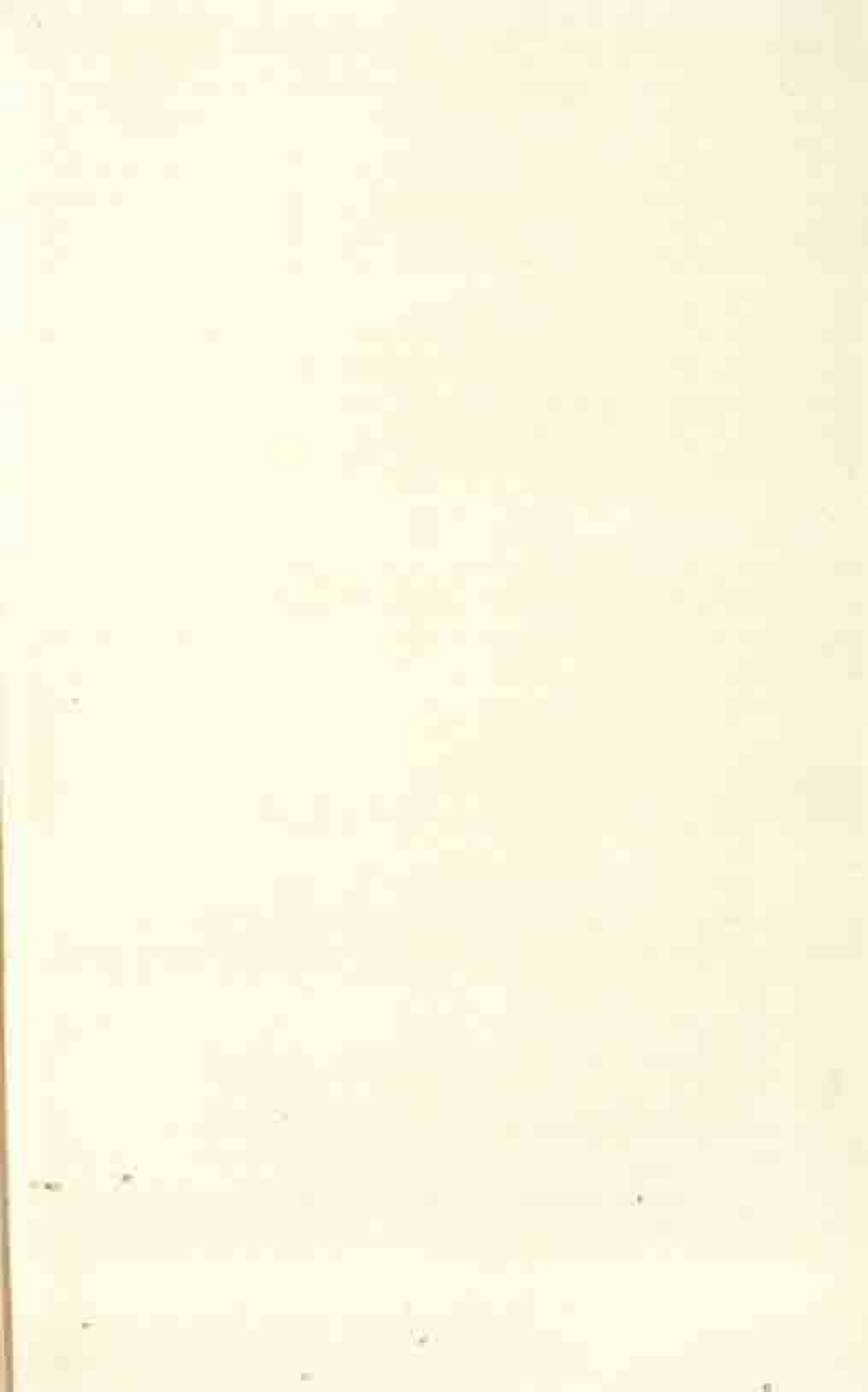
## (36)

The first is a fine *mustazād* (similar in form and metre to No. 5 on pp. 185-6 *supra*) written and published in the paper *Khurāsān* in Jumāda i, A.H. 1327 (= May-June, 1909), towards the end of the "Lesser Tyranny" (*Istibdād-i-saghīr*), some few weeks before the capture of Tīhrān and deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī by the victorious Nationalists. It was designed to arouse in Khurāsān sympathy with the efforts put forth by Āzarbāyjān, Gilān and Isfahān, and is here given in full.

با شو ایران ز آزادی سخن گفتن خطاست' کار ایران با خداست'  
مذهب شاهنشاهی ایران ز مذہبها جداست' کار ایران با خداست'  
شاه مست و میر مست و شیخ مست' مملکت رفته ز دست'  
هر دم از دستای مستان فتنه و غوغا بیاست' کار ایران با خداست'



The poet Bahār of Mashhad, entitled  
*Malikū'sh-Shu'arā* ("the King of Poets")





هر دم از دریای استداد آید بر فراز<sup>۱</sup> موجهای جانگداز  
 زین تلاطم کشتی ملت بگرداب بلاست<sup>۲</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 مملکت کشتی حوادث بحر و استداد خس<sup>۳</sup> ناخدا عدل است و بس  
 کار پاس کشتی و کشتی نشین با ناخداست<sup>۴</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 پادشه خود را مسلمان خواند و سازد تباہ<sup>۵</sup> خون جمعی بیگناه  
 ای مسلمانان در اسلام این ستمها کی رواست<sup>۶</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 شاه ایران گر عدالت را نخواهد بالک نیست<sup>۷</sup> ز آنکه طینت پاک نیست  
 دیده خفاش از خورشید در رنج و غناست<sup>۸</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 روز و شب خندد همی بر ریش ناجیز وزیر<sup>۹</sup> سبست نیز امیر  
 کی شود زین ریختن زشت کار ملک راست<sup>۱۰</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 باش تا آگه کند شهرا ازین نا بخردی<sup>۱۱</sup> انتقام ایزدی  
 انتقام ایزدی برق است و نا بخرد گیاست<sup>۱۲</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 سنگر شه چون بدوشان نه<sup>۱۳</sup> رفت از باغ شاه تازه تر شد داغ شاه  
 روز دیگر سنگرش در سرحد ملک فناست<sup>۱۴</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 باش تا بیرون ز رشت آید سپهدار سترگ<sup>۱۵</sup> فتر دادار بزرگ  
 آنکه گیلان ز اهتمامش رشک اقلیم بقاست<sup>۱۶</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 باش تا از اصفهان صمصام حق گردد پدید<sup>۱۷</sup> نام حق گردد پدید  
 تا ببینیم آنکه سر ز احکام حق پیچد نکاست<sup>۱۸</sup> کار ایران با خداست  
 خاك ایران بوم و برزن از نهدن خورد آب<sup>۱۹</sup> جز خراسان خراب  
 هر چه هست از قامت ناسازی اندام ماست<sup>۲۰</sup> کار ایران با خداست

(بهار)

<sup>۱</sup> *Davahdu-tepl* ("Hare Hill") is one of the Shāh's hunting-boxes situated a few miles to the N. E. of Tih-rān. See my *Year among the Persians*, pp. 86 and 91.

<sup>۲</sup> This line is a quotation from Hafez.

## (37)

The second poem in this collection is, in the words of the author, a portion of "a metrical history of Persia down to the time of Muḥammad 'Alī, mingled with moving exhortations, sent to the Shāh by means of *Mushtrū's-Saltāna*, the Court Chamberlain (*Wazir-i-Darbār*), which, however, produced no effect." It also was composed in Jumāda i, A.H. 1327 (= May-June, 1909), but seems not to have been published at the time. This poem also I consider worthy of being reproduced here.

## (1)

یاسبانا تا بچند این سُتی و خوابِ گرانِ یاسبان را نیست خواب از خواب سر بردار هان  
 کَلّه خود را نگر بی یاسبان و بی شیانِ یک طرف گرگِ دمان و یک طرف شیرِ ژیان  
 آن ز جنگِ این رُبابد طعمه این از جنگِ آن هر یک آلوده بخونِ این گله جنگ و دهان  
 یاسبان مست و گله مشغول و دشمن هوشیار  
 کار با یزدان بود کر کف برون رفت کار

## (2)

بند پذیرای ملک زمین یاک گوهر رایگانِ نیکی از زشتان صبی و یاری از همسایگان  
 و آنکه از سر دور کن گفتارِ این بیمایگانِ پایداری چند خواهی جُست از این بی بابگان  
 کشور تو خسروا گنجی است گنجی شایگانِ نرم این گنج از کت شاهها بر آید رایگان  
 طرفه گنجی در کف آوردی کون بی هیچ رنج  
 چون نبردی رنج شاهها کی شناسی قدرِ گنج

این همه آثار شاهان خسروا افسانه نیست شاهرا شاهها گزیر از سیرت شاهانه نیست  
 خسروی اندر خور هر سست و هر دیوانه نیست مجلس افروزی ز شمع است آری از پروانه نیست  
 اینک اینک کنخانی جز نودر این خانه نیست خانه چون خانه تو خسروا ویرانه نیست  
 خیز و از داد و دهش آباد کن این خانه را  
 و اندک اندک دور کن از خوشتن بیگانه را

*(Translation)*

## (1)

"O watchman, how long this sloth and heavy sleep?  
 Sleep is not for the watchman; O, raise thy head from slumber!  
 Behold thy flock without watchman or shepherd,  
 On one side the raging wolf, on the other the roaring lion;  
 That one snatches the morsel from the claws of this one, and  
 this one from that one,  
 Each one having dyed his claws and fangs with the blood of  
 this flock.  
 The watchman drunk, the flock preoccupied, the enemy  
 watchful—  
 The matter rests with God, for it has passed out of our hands!

## (2)

"Accept advice freely, O King, from this loyal nature;  
 Seek not for fairness from the foul, nor friendliness from thy  
 neighbours;  
 Then put away out of thine head the words of these worth-  
 less ones;  
 How long wilt thou seek for constancy from these inconstant  
 ones?  
 Thy kingdom, O Prince, is a treasure, a royal treasure,  
 And I fear, O King, lest this treasure may slip from thy hands  
 without a struggle.

A wondrous treasure hast thou got in thy hands without trouble!

O King, since thou hast obtained it without trouble, how shouldst thou know the value of the treasure?

"All these monuments of the Kings, O prince, are no vain tale;  
A king, O King, cannot dispense with kingly qualities.  
Kingship does not befit every sluggard and madman;  
Yea, it is the candle, not the moth, which illuminates the banquet!  
Lo and behold, in this house there is no master save thee,  
Yet is there no house so desolate as thine, O Prince!  
Arise, cause thy house to prosper by Justice and Bounty,  
And, little by little, put away the stranger from thee!"

## (38)

The third poem, written about the same time as the last (May-June, 1909), is also addressed to Muḥammad 'Alī, then Shāh. It is what is technically known as a *takhlīs*, or "five-some," and a *taẓmīn*, or amplification, of one of Shaykh Sa'dī's odes (*ghazals*), that is to say to each verse of Sa'dī's ode are prefixed three new half-verses, the five half-verses thus obtained constituting a *band* or stanza<sup>1</sup>. This poem runs as follows:

## (1)

بادشاه ز ستداد چه داری مقصود<sup>1</sup> که ازین کار جز ادبار نگرود مشهود<sup>2</sup>  
جود کن در ره مشروطه که گردی مسجود<sup>3</sup> "شرفِ مرد بخودست و کرامت بسجود"  
هر که این هر دو ندارد عنمش به ز وجود<sup>4</sup>

## (2)

ملیکا جور مکن پیشه و مشکن پیمان<sup>1</sup> که مکافاتِ خدائیت بگیرد دامان<sup>2</sup>  
خاک بر سر کثت حادثه دُور زمان<sup>3</sup> "خاک مصر طرب انگیز نه بینی که همان<sup>4</sup>  
خاک مصر است ولی بر سر فرعون و جنود<sup>5</sup>"

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the *takhlīs* and *mushammās*, see Vol. I of the late E. J. W. Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 92-3, and concerning the *taẓmīn* ("quotation"), p. 113. The poem of Sa'dī on which this is based will be found on pp. 292-3 of the Calcutta printed edition of A.D. 1791.



(۲)

ملکا خود سری و جَوَرِ تو ایران سوز است ' بمکافاتِ تو امروز وطنِ فیروز است '  
 تابشِ نورِ مکافاتِ نه از امروز است ' این همان چشمه خورشید جهان افروز است '  
 که همی نافت بر آرامگه عاد و ثمود "

(۴)

بیش ازین شاها بر ریشه خود نیشه مزن ' خود و ملت را در ورطه ذلت منگن '  
 ببحِ خود را بهوا و هوسِ نفس مکن ' " قیمتِ خود بملای و مناهی مشکن "  
 گرت ایمان درست است بروز موعود "

(۵)

کشتِ ملت را کردی ز سمِ پاکِ دیرو ' شد کهن قصه جنگیز ز یدادِ تو نو '  
 بجهان دل زجه بندی پس ازین گفت و شنو ' " ای که در نعمت و نازی بجهان غره مشو '  
 که محالست درین مرحله امکانِ خلود "

(۶)

بگذر از خطه نبریز و مقام شهداش ' بشنو آن قصه جاسوز و دل از غم بجراش '  
 اندران خطه پس از آن کُشش و آن پرخاش ' " خاکِ راهی که بران میگذری ساکن باش '  
 که عیون است و جئون است و خدود است و قدود "

(۷)

شاه بکندل نشد و کارها گشت و هدر ' ملت خسته در این مرحله کن فکرِ دگر '  
 مبنای اُمید مینه بر درِ شاهِ خود سر ' " دستِ حاجت جویری پیش خداوندی بر '  
 که کرم است و رحیم است و غفور است و ودود "

(۸)

شاه خود کيست بدین کبر و اناييت او ' تا نگو باشد در باره ما نيست او '  
 ما پرستنده حقيقت و الهويت او ' " کز ثري تا بشريتا بعبوديت او '  
 همه در ذکر و مناجات و قيامت و قعود "

(۹)

سرزند کوکب مشروطه ز گردون کمال ' بر آيد شب هجران و دمد صبح وصال '  
 کار نيکو شود از فر خداي متعال ' " ايکه در شدت و فقری و پریشانی حال '  
 صبر کن کين دوسه روزی بر آيد معدود "

(۱۰)

جر خطا کاری ازین شاه نمی باید خواست ' کآنچه ما در او بينيم سراسر بحطاست '  
 مديقت پند که هر بد نشان پند هاست ' " پند سعدي که کلبد در گنج سعداست '  
 تواند که بجای آورد الا سعود "

(Translation)

(1)

"O King, at what dost thou aim by thy despotism?  
 From such deeds naught will be witnessed save evil fortune!  
 Shew generosity in the way of the Constitution, that thou may'st  
 be adored:

'The honour of a man is in generosity, and his nobility in  
 worship:

Whoever has not these two, his non-existence is better than his  
 existence!'

## (2)

"O King, make not cruelty thy practice, nor break thy promises,  
 For, if thou dost, Divine punishment will seize thy skirt!  
 The happenings of the cycle of time will cast dust on thy head:  
*'Dost thou not see that the gladsome dust of Egypt is the same  
 Dust of Egypt, but [cast] on the heads of Pharaoh and his  
 hosts?'*

## (3)

"O King, thine obstinacy and tyranny consume Persia;  
 To-day the Nation is successful in requiting thee!  
 The glow of the light of requital is not [a thing] of to-day:  
*'This is the same world-enkindling disc of the Sun  
 Which used to shine on the dwellings of 'Ad and Thamūd!'*

## (4)

"O King, strike not the axe more than this on thy root!  
 Cast not thyself and the Nation into the gulf of abasement!  
 Do not dig up thine own roots through selfish desires and  
 whims!  
*'Do not mar thy worth by frivolous and forbidden pursuits,  
 If thy belief in the Promised Day<sup>†</sup> be sincere!'*

## (5)

"With tyranny thou didst reap clean the Nation's crop;  
 The old story of Chingiz Khān hath been renewed by thine  
 injustice;  
 After this conversation wherefore shouldst thou set thy heart  
 on the world?  
*'O thou who art in luxury and wealth, be not deceived by  
 the world,  
 For to tarry eternally in this halting-place is an impossible  
 contingency!'*

<sup>†</sup> i.e. the Day of Judgement.

## (6)

"Pass by the region of Tabriz and the place of its martyrs:  
Hearken to that soul-melting story, and rend thy heart with woe!  
In that region, after that slaughter and strife,

*'Walk gently on the dust of that road wherever thou passest,  
For it is [composed of] eyes and eyelids, cheeks and bodies!'*

## (7)

"The King is not single-hearted, and affairs are gone to rack  
and ruin:

O wearied nation, think of some fresh plan at this stage!  
Set not the foot of hope at the gate of this headstrong monarch!

*'If thou stretchest out thine hand in supplication, stretch it  
towards One  
Who is generous, merciful, forgiving and kind!'*

## (8)

"Who, indeed, is the King, with this his pride and egotism,  
That his intentions with regard to us should be good?

We are the worshippers of God and His Divinity,

*'In whose service, from the dust to the Pleiades,  
All are engaged in commemoration, prayers, rising up and  
bowing down.'*

## (9)

"The Constellation of the Constitution appears from the Firmament of Perfection:

The Night of Parting draws to an end, and the Morn of  
Union dawns:

All will be well through the Glory of God Most High.

*'O thou who art in hardship, poverty and distracted circumstances,  
Be patient, for these few brief days will come to an end!'*



## (10)

"One must not expect from this King anything but mistakes,  
For what we see in him is wrong from one end to the other:  
Counsel him not, for vain is counsel to those of evil nature.

*'The advice of Sa'di, which is the key to the door of the  
Treasure of the Blessed,  
None can put into practice save the favoured!'"*

## (39)

The fourth poem of the collection, composed "in the latter days of the Lesser Tyranny, and the beginning of the Revolt in Khurásán (i.e. in the early summer of A.D. 1909) in order to excite and encourage the *Fidā'is*," was recited in the *Bāgh-i-'Anbar* at Mashhad, and afterwards published in the newspaper *Khurásán*. It is remarkable in form as being what is called *Dhū Qāfiyatayn*, or having a double rhyme. Only the first of the five stanzas which constitute the poem is here given,

دوشنبه ز رخِ دهرِ بد خواه'	رفتم سوی بوستان نهانی'
تا وا رَم از خمارِ جانکاه'	از لطفِ هوایِ بوستانی'
دیدم گلیمایِ نغزِ دلخواه'	خندانِ بطراوتِ جوانی'
مرغانِ لطیفِ طبعِ آگاه'	نالانِ بنوایِ باستانی'
بر آتشِ رویِ گلِ شبانگه'	هر يك سرگرمِ زندِ خوانی'
من بغمزانه رفتم از راه'	از آن نغماتِ آسمانی'
با خود گفتم بناله و آه'	کایِ رانده ز عالمِ معانی'
با بالِ ضعیف و برِ کوناه'	پروازِ بلندِ کسی توانی'
بودم در این سخن که ناگاه'	مرغی بزیانِ بی زبانی'

این مزده بگوشِ من رسانید'

کز رحمتِ حقِ مباشرِ نومید'

The fifth poem has been already given (No. 20, pp. 218-20 *supra*). It was published not only in the *Irân-i-Naw* (from which it was quoted), but also in the papers *Khurásán*, *Taraqqi*, and *Hablul-Matin*.

The sixth poem was originally declaimed in a great assembly of the notables, officials and people of Mashhad held in the Holy Shrine of the Imám Riza to celebrate the opening of the Second National Assembly (about November 15, 1909). It is in praise of Freedom, comprises fifteen couplets, and begins:

یَا ساقی که کرد ایزد قوی ارکان آزادی' نبود آباد از تو خانه ویران آزادی'  
جهان بکشود بر غم‌دیدگان ابواب آسایش' فلک بر پست با دل‌هستگان پیمان آزادی'

The seventh poem was written in July, 1910, at a time of political crisis and change of Cabinet. It is a *tarkib-band* of four strophes, and appeared in the newspaper *Tás*, No. 50. The last strophe is as follows:

یارانِ روشِ دیگر گرفتند' وز ما دل و دیده بر گرفتند'  
از مسلکِ ما شدند دلگیر' پس مسلکِ خویند گرفتند'  
در سایه طبع اعتدالی' بپایه مختصر گرفتند'  
هر زشتی را نکو گردیدند' هر نفعی را ضرر گرفتند'  
وز خارِ جهان ز ساده لوحی' زهر از عوضِ شکر گرفتند'  
فرمانِ شکوه خوشتن را' از دشمنِ کینه‌ور گرفتند'  
باری هر کارِ پر خطرا' کاینان ز ره خطر گرفتند'  
بازی بازی ز کف نهادند' شوخی شوخی ز سر گرفتند'  
غافل که بخانقاهِ احرار'  
بصد گوش است پشتِ دیوار'

## (40)

The eighth poem appeared in No. 31 of the newspaper *Tūs* on the Persian *Navrūz* (New Year's Day), March 22, 1910. It is a *mustazād* of fifteen stanzas, and is worthy of notice both on account of its intrinsic beauty and its allusions to recent events in Persia.

## (1)

عیدِ نوروز است هر روزی بها نوروز باد'	شام ایران روز باد'
پنجمین سالِ حیات ما بها فیروز باد'	روز ما بهروز باد'
برقِ تیغِ ما جهان برداز و دشمن سوز باد'	جیش ما کین توز باد'
سالِ استقلالِ ما را باد آغازِ بهار'	با نسیمِ افتخار'

## (۲)

باد باد آن نو بهارِ رفته و آفت پژمرده باغ'	و آن خزان نیز جنگ'
و آن همه محنت که بر بلبل رسید از جور زاغ'	در ره ناموس و تنگ'
و آن ز خونِ نو جوانان بر کرانِ باغ و راغ'	لاله‌های رنگِ رنگ'
و آفت ز قندِ رادِ مردان در کنسارِ چوپار'	سروهای خاکسار'

## (۳)

یاد باد آن باغبانِ کز کینه آفتی در فکند'	در فضای این جن'
و آفت نسیمِ مهرگانی کآمد و از بیخ کند'	لاله و سرو و سن'
آفتِ یکی بر هرزه کرد انباز رنجِ سخت بند'	گلپستانِ مستغن'
و آن دگر بر خیره کرد آویزِ چوبِ خشک دار'	میوه‌های خوشگوار'

## (۴)

بر کرات گلشن تبریز آتش در گرفت  
 از نسیم جور شاه  
 گشت از آن آتش که ناگه اندران کشور گرفت  
 خون مسکینان نپا  
 چون ز مردی و دلیری ره بر آن لشکر گرفت  
 لشکر مشروطه خواه  
 لشکر همسایه<sup>۱</sup> ناگه سر بر آورد از کنار  
 با هزاران گیر و دار

## (۵)

کاین منم افترده با اندر ره صلح و وداد  
 نیست از من خوف و بیم  
 آمیستم تا به بنده ره بر آشوب و فساد  
 بر طریق مستقیم  
 الله الله زان تطاول الله الله زان عباد  
 ای خداوند کریم  
 این چه جور است و عداوت این چه بغض است و نفار  
 زین گروه باربار

## (۶)

اندک اندک زین بهانه سوی قزوین کرد روی  
 وحشیانه جیش روس  
 در شمال ملک ما افتاد از ایشان های وهی  
 ای دریغ وای فوس  
 در خراسان هم در آن هنگامه روس خیره بوی  
 از ستم بنواخت کوس  
 حامی اشرار شد و افگند در مشهد شرار  
 فی نهان بل آشکار

## (۷)

باد بادا آن مع خور داد و آن جان باختن  
 در ره ناموس و دین  
 و آن سوی قبه الاسلام توپ انداختن  
 بر عناد مسلمین  
 قوی از بیداشی کار وطن را ساختن  
 نیز قومی در کمین  
 تا که میدانی بنست آرند در آن گیر و دار  
 غافل از انجام کار

<sup>۱</sup> i.e. Russian.



## (۸)

غافل از این کاسمان هر روز بازیها کند  
 ملت بیدار دل گردن قزازیها کند  
 بر خلاف رای مرد  
 روز بیکار و نبرد  
 کردگار داد گستر کارسازیهها کند  
 بر مرام اهل درد  
 تا که اهل درد را گردد زمانه سازگار  
 چرخ رام و بخت یار

## (۹)

باد باد و شاد باد آن سرو آزاد وطن  
 آنکه داد از رادی و مردانگی داد وطن  
 حضرت ستار خان  
 اندر آذربایجان  
 باد باقر خان کزوشد سخت بنیاد وطن  
 شاد بادا جاودان  
 باد بادا ملت تبریز و آن مردان کار  
 آن وطن را افتخار

## (۱۰)

باد باد آن جیش گیلان و آن همه غرنده شیر  
 و آن مهین سردار اسعد و آن سپهبد دلیر  
 و آن یورشهای بزرگ  
 و آن جوانان مترک  
 باد باد آن در سفارخانه از ایام سیر  
 چون ز شبر آشفته گرگ  
 و آن حمایت پیشگان همسایگان دوستار  
 برده اورا در جوار

## (۱۱)

باد باد آن فتنه زنجان و آن قربان علی<sup>۱</sup>  
 باد باد آن اردبیل و آن همه سنگین دلی  
 و آن خون ریختن  
 و آن بخلق آویختن  
 باد بادا آن رحیم نا کس و آن جاهلی  
 و آن فساد انگیزان  
 باد باد آن آتش افروزان پنهان دیار  
 و آن گروه دیوسار

<sup>۱</sup> The revolt in Zanjān, headed by Mullā Qurbān 'Alī, began about the middle of August, 1909, and culminated in the Dārāb Mirzā incident in May-June, 1910. The troubles at Ardābil began about the same time.

## (۱۳)

یاد بادا آن طسپ روی عسی نفس<sup>۱</sup> و آن رحم دردمند<sup>۲</sup>  
 و آن دواى روح پرور کش نباشد دست رس<sup>۳</sup> جز به بیماری نژند<sup>۴</sup>  
 و آن شنای عاجل و جنگ آورهای پس<sup>۵</sup> و آن همه رنج و گزند<sup>۶</sup>  
 و آن بهانه جنن و آوردن اندر آن دیار<sup>۷</sup> لشکر وحشی شعار<sup>۸</sup>

## (۱۴)

یاد باد آن دست دادن اندر آن عکس گروپ<sup>۱</sup> در فضای اردبیل<sup>۲</sup>  
 و آن یارانِ رحم از شوق دادن مشقِ توپ<sup>۳</sup> تا شود خونها سیل<sup>۴</sup>  
 و آن مجود ره دادنِ اهریمنانِ تا بکار<sup>۵</sup> از پسِ جنگ و فرار<sup>۶</sup>

## (۱۴)

اینگ اینک سالِ نو شد آفرین بر سالِ نو<sup>۱</sup> هم بر این اقبالِ نو<sup>۲</sup>  
 سالِ نو هر دم زند بر ملکِ ایرانِ فالِ نو<sup>۳</sup> دل کند آمالِ نو<sup>۴</sup>  
 ماضی ما کهنه شد بنگر در استقبالِ نو<sup>۵</sup> فرّ و استقلالِ نو<sup>۶</sup>  
 فرّ و استقلالِ نو باشد در استقبالِ کار<sup>۷</sup> منت از پروردگار<sup>۸</sup>

## (۱۵)

منت ایزدرا که قومِ خشنه را بیدار کرد<sup>۱</sup> لطفِ حق لا ینام<sup>۲</sup>  
 خیره گرگاندا ز مصرِ مهملکت آوار کرد<sup>۳</sup> آن عزیز ذو انتقام<sup>۴</sup>  
 اینک اینک نوبتِ کار است باید کار کرد<sup>۵</sup> در ره ناموس و نام<sup>۶</sup>  
 تا که مفصودی بدست آرم بعد از انتظار<sup>۷</sup> بر خلافِ همجوار<sup>۸</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> The "group" photograph of Rahīm Khān and his Russian friends to which reference is here made was published in the *Hablu'l-Matin*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and opposite p. 440 of my *Persian Revolution*.

<sup>۲</sup> A line has evidently fallen out here in the original.



Rahim Khān Qarāja-Dāghī,  
the notorious Reactionary referred to in verse 13 of Poem No. 40,  
holding the hand of M. Relainff, the Secretary of the  
Russian Consulate-General at Tahriz

From a photograph taken about the end of August, 1909





## (17)

هیواریان را بمانا انصاف کاری هست؟ نیست!    رو بکن کارِ دگر  
 قومِ مغرب را بر اهلِ شرقِ باری هست؟ نیست!    رو بجو بارِ دگر  
 خود خریداری بر این افغان وزاری هست؟ نیست!    شو بازارِ دگر  
 ز آنکه کس را دل بحالِ کس نمی سوزد بهار    کار باید کرد کار

## (41)

The ninth poem, which appeared in No. 30 of the newspaper *Tūs* about the middle of March, 1910, is a satire on the disgraceful condition of the streets of Mashhad in rainy weather on account of the mud.

افشاده ام سخت بدامِ بلایِ گِل    با رب جو ما مباد کسی مبتلایِ گِل  
 گِلِ مشکلی شده است بهر معبر و طریق    گامِ روندگان شده مشکل گشایِ گِل  
 هر که که ابر خیمه زند در فضای شهر    بر بامِ هر سرای بر آید لوایِ گِل  
 گِلِ دل نمی کند ز خراسان و اهلِ او    ای جانِ اهلِ شهر فدایِ وفایِ گِل  
 گر صد هزار کنش بندد بپایِ خلق    هرگز نمی رسند بکشفِ غطایِ گِل  
 با خضر اگر روند بظلماتِ کوچه خلق    اسکندری خورند<sup>1</sup> درین چشمه های گِل  
 اوّل قدم که بوسه زند گِلِ بپایِ ما    افتنیم بر زمین و بوسیم پایِ گِل  
 گِلها ثقیل و درم و کوچه خراب و تنگ    آه از جنایِ کوچه و داد از جنایِ گِل  
 گِلِ هر چه را به پتجه در آورد ول نکرد    صد آفرین به نتیجه معجز نمایِ گِل  
 از گِل ز بسکه خاطر و دلها فشرده<sup>2</sup> است    گل نیز بعد از این نلند از فضای گِل  
 بر روزگارِ خویش کنم گریه بامداد    چون بنگرم بخنده دندان نمایِ گِل  
 از پشت تا بشانه و از پیش تا بریش    هستند خلقِ یکسره غرقِ غطایِ گِل  
 امروز در قلمرو طوس از بلند و پست    آنجایکه کجاست که خالی است جایِ گِل

<sup>1</sup> *Ishtanlari khordan* is a slang expression meaning "to fall on the face," but there is a *tandub* with *Khizr* in the previous line.

<sup>2</sup> This is a conjectural emendation for *vasila*, which gives no good sense.

آید اگر چهار زره پوش ز انگلند / حیران شود ز لجه بی منتهای گیل  
 گر لای و گیل تمام نکردد ازین بلد / اهلی بلد تمام بمانند لای گیل  
 شرم آیدم ز گفتن بسیار ورنه باز  
 چندین هزار مسئله باشد ورای گیل

## (42)

The tenth poem, a *musaddas* or "six-some," appeared in No. 1 of the newspaper *Naw Bahār* in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (= October–November, 1910). Five of the twelve stanzas of this poem (Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 and 12) are here given.

## (۲)

و زرا باز نهادند ز کف کار وطن / و کلا مهر نهادند بکام و بدین  
 علما شبهه نمودند و فسادند بطن / جیره شد کشور ایران را انبوه فتن  
 کشور ایران ز انبوه فتن در خطر است  
 ای وطنخواهان ز بهار وطن در خطر است

## (۶)

باری انگیزند این قوم در اصلاح امور / لیک باری شان را اصلاح بصد مرحله دور  
 غرض و حبّ ریاستشان اول منظور / غافل از اینکه وطن مانده غریب و محجور  
 ملت خسته چه از مرد و چه زن در خطر است  
 ای وطنخواهان ز بهار وطن در خطر است

## (۷)

خرس صحرا شده همدست نهنگ دریا / کشتی مارا رانده است بگرداب بلا  
 آه ازین ریغ و محن آویخ ازین جور و جفا / هان بحر جرات و غیرت نبود چاره ما  
 ز آنکه ناموس وطن زین دو محن در خطر است  
 ای وطنخواهان ز بهار وطن در خطر است

(۸)

رفیقارا بهم امروز سرِ صلح و صفاست ' آری این صلح و صفایشان بره ذلت ماست '  
 بجزیر ز آنکه مهین رایتِ اسلام بیاست ' غافل آن قوم که قفقاز و لهستان بیاست '  
 غافل این فرقه که لاهور و دکن در خطر است '  
 ای وطنخواهان زندهار وطن در خطر است '

(۱۲)

وطنیانی با دیده نر میگویم ' با وجودیکه در او نیست اثر میگویم '  
 تا رسد عمرِ گرانمایه بسر میگویم ' بارها گفته‌ام و بارِ دگر میگویم '  
 که وطن باز وطن باز وطن در خطر است '  
 ای وطنخواهان زندهار وطن در خطر است '

The paper *Naw Bahár* (see No. 357, p. 149 *supra*) first appeared on the 9th of Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= October 14, 1910), at Mashhad. The celebrated Haydar Khán, called '*Amá-oghla*' ("cousin"), was its founder, and our poet *Bahár*, its editor. It was suppressed at the instance of the Russians exactly a year after its inception (on October 14, 1911).

(43)

The eleventh poem is evidently modelled on a well-known fragment by the great poet Jámí, beginning:

بدندان رخنه در پولاد کردن ' بناخن راه در خارا بُریدن '

and ending:

همه بر جای آسائش نماید ' که بارِ منتِ دوان کشیدن '

It was published in the *Naw Bahār* in Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (= October–November, 1910), and is as follows:

دو رویه زیرِ تیشِ مارِ خُشنِ ' سه پشته رویِ شاخِ مورِ رفتنِ  
 نینِ روغنِ زده با زحمتِ وزورِ ' میانِ لانه زنبورِ رفتنِ  
 بکوهِ بینوایِ رهنمائیِ ' شانه با دو چشمِ کورِ رفتنِ  
 میانِ لرز و تب با جسمِ پر زخمِ ' زمستانِ توی آبِ شورِ رفتنِ  
 برهنه زخمهایِ سختِ خوردنِ ' پیاده راههایِ دورِ رفتنِ  
 بیشِ من هزارانِ بارِ خوشترِ  
 که بکجو زیرِ بارِ زورِ رفتنِ

## (44)

The twelfth poem is a *tasnif*, or ballad, in the "Afshār Mode," and appeared in the *Naw Bahār* in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (= December, 1910). It runs as follows:

(در پرده افشار)

## (۱)

نمی دانم چرا ویرانه گشتی—وطنِ ' مقام لشکرِ بیگانه گشتی—وطنِ  
 تو شمعِ جمیع ما بودی وطنِ جان—چرا ' بشمعِ دیگرانِ پروانه گشتی—وطنِ  
 پروانه گشتی وطنِ ' (مکرر)

نو عزیزِ منی نو گلِ گلشنی ' بدینِ خواری چرا افسانه گشتی وطنِ

## (۲)

خوشا روزی که بودی شاد و خندان—وطنِ ' شکستی خصم را جنگال و دندان—وطنِ  
 تو بودی سر بلندِ افسوسِ افسوس—وطنِ ' در افتادی بحالِ مستمندان—وطنِ  
 در افتادی بحالِ مستمندان وطنِ ' (مکرر)

امان امان امان بیداد بیداد بیداد ' ز جورِ دشمنان ویرانه گشتی وطنِ



(۳)

وطن جان ای وطن جان ای وطن جان من<sup>۱</sup> شنای دل دوی قلب سوزان من  
 جفاکش مادر زار پریشان من<sup>۱</sup> پرستار من و گهواره جنان من  
 پرستار من و گهواره جنان من (مکرر)  
 مادر مهربان آشنای روان<sup>۱</sup> بفرزندان چرا بیگانه گشتی وطن

(۴)

ز روس و انگلیس آید ستمها بیا<sup>۱</sup> هجوم آرد ز هر سو درد و غمها بیا  
 قدم در خاک ما از کین نهادند و باز<sup>۱</sup> بی حجت نهند این بد قدمها بیا  
 این بد قدمها بیا (مکرر)  
 اگر پیمان کنند چرا کتمان کنند<sup>۱</sup> ازین پیمان تو بی پیمانه گشتی وطن  
 ویرانه گشتی وطن<sup>۱</sup> ویرانه گشتی وطن

The thirteenth poem was recited at the official celebration held on the birthday of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh by the Provincial Council of Khurāsān in August, 1911, and was afterwards published in the *Naw Bahār*. It is a *gasida* of twenty-seven verses, composed in the style of the old poet Farrukhī, and begins:

می فرویل ز کف ای ترک و بیکسونه جنگ<sup>۱</sup> جامه جنگ فرو بوش که شد نویت جنگ<sup>۱</sup>  
 بادهر را روز بفسرد بینه<sup>۱</sup> باد ز دست<sup>۱</sup> جنگ را نویت بگذشت بینه<sup>۱</sup> جنگ ز جنگ<sup>۱</sup>

(45)

The fourteenth poem was published in the *Naw Bahār* in Ramazān, A.H. 1329 (= August-September, 1911). It comprises eleven verses, and is an imitation of a poem by Minūchihrī<sup>۱</sup>.

ای خطه ایران مهین ای وطن من<sup>۱</sup> ای گشته بمهر نو عین جان و نین من<sup>۱</sup>  
 ای عاصمه دینی آباد که شد باز<sup>۱</sup> آشفته کنارت جو دل پر حزن من<sup>۱</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> This begins:

ای باده فدای تو همه جان و این من<sup>۱</sup> کز بیهوش بگفتی ز دل من حزن من<sup>۱</sup>

دور از نو گل و لاله و سرو و سمن نیست<sup>1</sup> ای باغ گل و لاله و سرو و سمن من  
 بس خارِ مصیبت که خلد مرا بر پای<sup>2</sup> بی روی تو ای تازه شکفته چنین من  
 ای بار خدای من گری تو زیم باز<sup>3</sup> افرشته من گردد چون اهرمن من  
 تا هست کنار تو مهر از لشکر دشمن هرگز شود خالی از دل من<sup>4</sup>  
 از ریغ تو لاغر شده ام چو نان کز من تا بر نشود ناله تبیی بدن من<sup>5</sup>  
 دردا و دریا که چنان گشتی بی برگ<sup>6</sup> کز بافته خویش نداری کنن من  
 بسیار سخن گفتم در تعزیت تو<sup>7</sup> آوخ که نگراند کز را سخن من  
 آنگاه نبوشند سخنهای مرا خلق<sup>8</sup> کز خون من آغشته شود پیرهن من  
 و امروز همی گوم با محنت بسیار  
 دردا و دریا وطن من وطن من

(46)

The fifteenth and last poem in this collection is placed in the mouth of the ex-Shāh Muhammad 'Alī, whose raid into Persia in August, 1911, ended, in spite of the hardly-concealed help of the Russians, in the defeat and death of his most capable General, *Arshadu'd-Dawla*, at the end of August and beginning of September, and his flight back to Russia soon afterwards. This poem also was published in the *Naw Bahār*.

(زبان حالِ شاهِ مخلوع)

(1)

با بنده فلک چرا بچنگ است<sup>1</sup> سبحان الله این چه رنگ است  
 بودم روزی بشهر تبریز<sup>2</sup> آقا و ولی عهد و با جیز  
 شه هرمز بود و بنده پرویز<sup>3</sup> و اینک شده ام ز دیده خوثریز  
 کاین چرخ چرا چنین دورنگ است  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است

<sup>1</sup> This hemistich does not scan, but I cannot emend it.<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a reminiscence of al-Mutanabbi's verse (ed. Dieterici, p. 5):

كَفَى بِجَسْمِي نَحْوًا أَتَنَى رَجُلٌ تَوَلَّاهُ مُخَاطَبَتِي إِذَا لَمْ تَرْنِي

(۳)

بودم روزی بشهرِ تهرات' مولا و خدایگان و سلطان'  
 بستم همه را بشوبِ غزات' گفتم که کسی نباند از ایشان'  
 دادم روزِ دیگر که جنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۴)

گفتم که خلق حرفِ مُفند' آخر دادم دَمِ کلفتند'  
 خیلی گفتم و کم شنفتند' يك جیشِ سخت کرده گفتند'  
 بسم الله ره سوی فرنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۵)

گفتم که ما ز گندگانیم' رحمت ز خدا به یندگانیم'  
 سوی اودسا شوندگانیم' غم نیست گر از روندگانیم'  
 بنشین ما بخانه ننگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۶)

سوی اودسا شدیم هی هی' محنوت آما شدیم هی هی'  
 بی برگ و نوا شدیم هی هی' بیکاره فنا شدیم هی هی'  
 آن دل که بنا سوخت سنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(٦)

اندر آدسا فیزی جمیله' آمد چون لیلی از قبیله'  
 محزون شدمش بلا وسيله' بگذاشت بگوش من قتیله'  
 گفتیم که وقت لاس و دنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(٧)

بد بختی ما نگر که خانم' نا داد دگر بدست ما دم'  
 يك روز و دو روز بود و شد گم' با خود گفتیم خسروا قم'  
 کن عزم منر که وقت تنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(٨)

بر یاد نگار عیسوی کیش' کردم منر بملک اطریش'  
 درویشانه گزشتیم از خویش' کز عشق شهان شوند درویش'  
 دیدم ره دور و پای لنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(٩)

خانم ز نظر برفت باری' مقصود منر برفت باری'  
 وقتیم بهدر برفت باری' چون عشق ز سر برفت باری'  
 گفتیم که نه موقع درنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'



(10)

دیدم شهر قال و قیل است ' صحت ز نگارِ بی بدیل است '  
 وز ما سخنانِ بس طویل است ' گفتیم که نام ما خلیل است '  
 گفتیم که کارِ ما شلنگ است '  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است '

(11)

با خود گفتیم مهدی هی ' وقتِ سفر است یا علی هی '  
 بر خیز و برو مگر شلی هی ' خود را آماده کن ولی هی '  
 بیا که زمانه نیز جنگ است '  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است '

(12)

آن کس که تراست میهمان دار ' بسیار رفیقِ تستِ بسیار '  
 از توب و تنگ و جیشِ جزار ' همزه کندت مندرسِ زنهار '  
 بشتاب که وقتِ نام و تنگ است '  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است '

(13)

و آنگاه ز شهرِ مارِ بنباد ' رفتیم بیادکوبه دلشاد '  
 صاحبِ خانه نوید میداد ' میگفت برو با منرا باد '  
 گفتیم که مهدی ز رنگ است '  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است '

(۱۴)

گفتم قلیوف بیا بیا زود' آماده یکن یکی پراخود'  
 نامرد بقیامتش بیفزود' من نیز قبول کردم از جود'  
 گفتم که نه وقت جنگ جنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۱۵)

و آنگاه برسم میهمانها' رفتیم بایل ترکمانها'  
 دادم نویدها بآنها' گفتم که ای عزیز جانها'  
 از غم دل ما بونگ ونگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۱۶)

گفتم سخنان بمکر و فتنها' بختم همرا از آن خننها'  
 خوش داد نتیجه ما و مننها' این نقشه نه خوب گشت تنها'  
 هر نقشه که می کنم فتنک است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۱۷)

من مهدی گریز یام' با دولت روس آشنام'  
 تهران تو کجا و من کجام' خوام که بجانب تو آم'  
 کز عشق تو کلام دینگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۱۸)

پَر دوروده سلطنت منم دی<sup>۱</sup> آسایش و عافیت منم دی<sup>۱</sup>  
 م عزت و منزلت منم دی<sup>۱</sup> آوخ که بو مملکت منم دی<sup>۱</sup>  
 ملت بنه ایندی قولنشنگ است<sup>۱</sup>  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است<sup>۱</sup>

(۱۹)

ای ترکمنان نیک منظر<sup>۱</sup> ریزید بشهر و قلعه بکمر<sup>۱</sup>  
 جایید هر آنچه اسپ و استر<sup>۱</sup> ز آغوش پدر کشید دختر<sup>۱</sup>  
 کاین مایه پیشرفت جنگ است<sup>۱</sup>  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است<sup>۱</sup>

(۲۰)

قالقون گذرز بی له همراه<sup>۱</sup> همنله ایدون منی بنه شاه<sup>۱</sup>  
 شاه اولسام اگر اولون سز آگاه<sup>۱</sup> غارت ایدروز بخو دلخواه<sup>۱</sup>  
 قالقون گذرز که وقت تنگ است<sup>۱</sup>  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است<sup>۱</sup>

(۲۱)

و آنگاه دواسه با دل شاد<sup>۱</sup> رفتیم بشهر استراباد<sup>۱</sup>  
 کردیم علم جماع بیداد<sup>۱</sup> گفتیم که هر که پیشکش داد<sup>۱</sup>  
 ایمن ز گلوله نرسنگ است<sup>۱</sup>  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است<sup>۱</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> This and the two following verses are in Turkish.

(۲۳)

ارشد که چو ما نشد هراسان' شد عازم شاهرود و سمنان'  
 از سوی دگر رشید سلطان' شد از ره راست سوی تهران'  
 گفتیم که وقتِ دنگ و فنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۲۴)

خود گرچه ز شوق نیز بودم' در وحشت و ترس نیز بودم'  
 هر دم بصرِ گریز بودم' هر لحظه بجمت و خیز بودم'  
 گفتی که براه ما پلنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۲۵)

گفتند که کارها شلوغ است' و این گفته چراغ بی فروغ است'  
 سرمایه ارنجاع دوع است' گفتیم که جملگی دروغ است'  
 گفتیم که جملگی جفنگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'

(۲۶)

گفتند که کشته شد رشیدت' گفتند که یاره شد امیدت'  
 گفتند وعید شد توبدت' گفتند سیاه شد سفیدت'  
 دیدم سر من ز غصه منگ است'  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است'



(۲۶)

گفتند که خصم کینه خواه است بد خواه براه و تبه راه است  
 قصد همگی بقتل شاه است دیدیم که روزی ما سیاه است  
 و آئینه ما قرین رنگ است  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است

(۲۷)

گفتند که ارشدت جدو شد و آن میر مکرمت کتو شد  
 اردوی منظمیت جبو شد هنگام بدو بدو بدو شد  
 بگریز که جعبه بی فشنگ است  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است

(۲۸)

گفتند جناب حکم فرما زحمت چکسوز دگر بفرما  
 بر گرد کجا که بودی آنجا دیدیم زین بیش جنگ و دعوا  
 حقا که برای بنده تنگ است  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است

(۲۹)

بنمود زمانه هرزه بوئی وین گردون کرد تیره روئی  
 افکند مرا بمرده شوئی گفتیم مگر که جنگ جوئی  
 چون عشق نگار شوخ و شنگ است  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است

(۲۰)

امروز ز بخت در گله استم در گمراشته و ناله استم  
 در کارِ فرار و ولوله استم گریخته امیر قافله استم  
 این قافله تا بجزر لنگ است  
 سبحان الله این چه رنگ است

(47)

The following poem, not included in the above collection, is also by Bahār, and was sent to me separately by a Persian friend. It is, I think, a parody of a well-known ode (*ghazal*) of Hāfiz or some other of the classical poets, and, though couched in the erotic strain usual in this class of poems, is full of political allusions.

دل فریاد که بروی دل جا دارند مستدانه چرا قصد دل ما دارند  
 دلبران خودسر و هرجائی و روی صفتند ورنه در خانه غیر از چه سبب جا دارند  
 گاه لطف است و خوشی گاه عتاب است و خطاب تا چه ازین همه بولتیک تقاضا دارند  
 خوبرویان اروپا ز چه در مُردن ما حیل سازند اگر اعجاز سبحا دارند  
 گرچه در قاعده حسن سیاسات جمال مملکت آنست که خوبان اروپا دارند  
 عاشقانرا سرِ آزادی و استقلالست کی ز بولتیک سر زلف تو پروا دارند  
 صفِ مزگان ترا دستِ سیاسی است دراز با تنویر که بمعصومه دلها دارند  
 دلِ مسکین من از قرضِ یکی بوسه گذشت با شروطی که لیان تو میباید دارند  
 بجه قانون به ناز تو ای نرک پسر در حدودِ دلِ باران سر بغما دارند  
 این چه صلی است که در داخله کشور دل خیل قزاقِ اشاراتِ تو مأوا دارند  
 بکمسیونِ عرایض چه کنم شکوه ز تو که همه حال من بدل شد با دارند





The Poet Pór-i-Dáwúd



ما بتوضیح دو چشمانِ نو قانع نشوم / ز آنکه با خارجیان الفت و نجوا دارند  
 در میانِ سر زلفِ تو بهارستان است / که در او هیئتِ دل مجلسِ شورا دارند  
 حکم فرمای که در محکمۀ حسن و جمال / هر چه آن حکمِ تو باشد همه تجوی دارند  
 رازدارانِ تو در انجمنِ سرّی دل / نطفی از رمزِ دهانت تو نمنا دارند  
 دل غارت شده در محضرِ عدلیۀ عشق / متظلم شد و چشمانِ تو حاشا دارند  
 سخن تازه ز طبعِ تو عجب نیست بهار  
 که همه مشرقیان منطبق گویا دارند

POEMS BY PŪR-I-DĀWŪD

(48)

The following fine poem by Pūr-i-Dāwūd has a less purely Persian vocabulary than he generally affects. It was communicated to me in November, 1913, and has, I think, never before been published.

از آه بچشمکام آبِ همه دربارا / وز اشک کنم دریا روی همه صحرا  
 در خیلِ همه بارانِ همراز نمی جویم / نه زاهدِ روحانی نه شاهدِ زیبارا  
 در جنة دیبا فی فضل و هنرِ مردم / با علم و شرف پوشم خود جامۀ جوخارا  
 در کلبۀ درویشی خوش باشم از آزادم / در بند نمی خوام صد قصرِ معلارا  
 جمعی بدرِ مسجدِ خیلِ بسوی فرخار / خلفی بکشت اندر جمعی است کلبسارا  
 گر از شمعِ گیتی آتشکده شد خاموش / در کاخِ دل افروزم کانونِ آوسارا  
 از مدرسه و از درس کی چاره شود دردم / ساز و دف و نی خوشتر دلدادۀ و شبدارا  
 می گرچه حرام آمد در کیشِ مسلمانی / در باده کشی بوم آئینِ مسجدارا  
 خوام که ز با آفتِ مدهوش و خمار و مست / تا نا شوم ز ایرانِ این غافل و آوارا  
 از ناحیۀ ایران هر لحظه بگوش آید / صوقی که بلرزاند این گنبدِ مینارا

صوفی که آرزو گردد خود موی همه سوزن' صوفی که آرزو یی خویش دل خارا را'  
 گوید بنوای فرزند اندیش بحال خویش' در یاب ز جید امروز آسایش فرارا'  
 دیبا تنوای یافت زین بزم که می تابی' زین خار نخواستی جید هرگز گلِ حمرا را'  
 زنجیر ز من بر گیر آنگاه بچنگ آور' زنجیرِ سیرِ زلفِ محسوب دلا را را'  
 "من در تب و تاب و غم نوشاد و خوش و خرم' ننگ است چنین غفلت مانند تو برنارا'  
 از خون جوانانم شد دشت همه گلگون' باز آ و دی بنگر گلگشت و تماشا را'  
 شد از ستم دونان ملکِ جم و کی ویران' پیغوله جفندان بین ایران فلکسارا'  
 شد شیرِ کبان پنهان جولانِ شگال آمد' خواری ز غلب آمد کَر و فیر دارا را'  
 شاهنشاه انوشروان در گور سه خُشید' خرس است ابر جایش بین بازی دنیا را'  
 گر بور رود روزی از مهر وطن بر دار'  
 صد شکر و سپاس آرد مر ایزد بکتارا'

## (Translation)

- (1) With sighs I dry up the water of all the sea, and with tears  
 I turn into a sea all the face of the plain.  
 In all the company of friends I seek no confidant, nor  
 spiritual ascetic, nor beautiful sweetheart.  
 The virtue and talent of a man are not in the robe of  
 brocade; for all my learning and nobility I wear a coat  
 of cloth.  
 If I be free I can be happy in a dervish's cell, while I desire  
 not a hundred lofty palaces [if I be] in bonds.
- (5) There is a crowd at the door of the Mosque, a troop  
 [moving] towards [the idol-temple of] Farkhâr, a host  
 entering the synagogue, a congregation [filling] the  
 church.  
 If the Fire-temple has been extinguished through the  
 tyranny of Fate, I will kindle in the chamber of the  
 heart the altar of the Avesta.

- How can my sorrow be cured by colleges and lectures?  
 Music, cymbals and flute are more congenial to the  
 madman who has lost his heart.  
 Although wine is forbidden in the Musulmán creed, in the  
 drinking of wine I will pursue the Christian practice.  
 I would fain fall down dazed, drunken and overcome by  
 wine, so that I may not hear from Persia this clamour  
 and crying.
- (10) From the direction of Persia every moment there reaches  
 the ear a voice which causes this blue vault [of heaven]  
 to tremble ;  
 A voice whereat the very hair becomes like needles ; a  
 voice whereat thou seest the heart of granite filled with  
 blood.  
 She cries to thee, "O son, consider thy state! Seek the  
 ease of to-morrow by the efforts of to-day!  
 "Out of this wool which thou art twisting thou canst not  
 weave brocade; from this thorn thou canst not gather  
 the red rose !  
 "Loose the chains from me, and only then take in thy hand  
 the chain-like tresses of thy charming sweetheart !
- (15) "I am fevered, tormented and grieved, thou art glad, happy  
 and cheerful ; such heedlessness is a shame in a youth  
 like thee !  
 "Through the blood of my young men the ground is all  
 rosy-red ; come back and gaze for a moment on my  
 rose-walks and rose-show !  
 "Through the tyranny of evil men the Kingdom of Jamshíd  
 and Kay hath been made desolate : Behold Persia, once  
 exalted to Heaven, become a ruin haunted by owls.  
 "The Lion of the Kayánians is hidden ; it is the time of  
 the jackal's prowling ; humiliation hath succeeded the  
 splendour and glory of Darius.  
 "King Núshírwán slumbers in the dark tomb, while the  
 Bear stands over his place. Behold the tricks of Fate !"
- (20) If, through love of his native land, Pŭr-i-Dáwúd should one  
 day mount the scaffold, still will he give a hundred  
 thanks and praises to the One God !

I possess some half dozen other poems by Pūr-i-Dāwūd of which three, one in praise of the *Anjuman* or Council (in this case, to judge by the context, the National Assembly or *Majlis*) and two in praise of the old Persian tongue (*Pārsī-yi-Bāstān*), are written in that almost pure Persian which this poet, like Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Alī of Tīhrān, called *Mubad*<sup>1</sup>, and one or two others, is wont to cultivate in his writings. One of these is here given as a specimen.

## (49)

جامه دیگر در فروزه پاری

زبان ایران ماست پاری باستان  
آن نیاکان ماست پاری باستان  
بر زیر کشور قیاد و جمشید و کتی  
جو هور رخشان ماست پاری باستان  
سزد گر ایرانیان ورا ستایش کند  
نول بزدان ماست پاری باستان  
برایگان و بهمت مده دری را ز جنگ  
گوهر شایان ماست پاری باستان  
زنده کن از پاری کشور و آئین آن  
زندگی و جان ماست پاری باستان  
ز تازی ار ناخوشی چاره بپواز دری  
دارو و درمان ماست پاری باستان  
شگفت نبود اگر بور برسند دری  
از آنکه از آن ماست پاری باستان

## (50)

In the following poem, which is entitled "a National Song" and was composed in Paris on the occasion of the European New Year (probably of 1913), the poet has not attempted, and I think wisely, to exclude Arabic words and to write in pure and undiluted Persian.

نوی بوی

از هجرت ای نگارم از کف بشد قرارم  
چون زلف مشکبارت شد نیره روزگارم  
گشتم ز ناله چون نای گشتم ز مویه چون موی  
باد آورد ز طوفان چشمان اشکارم

<sup>1</sup> See p. 87 *supra*.



برگزیده از رُخ برهان ز انتظارم ' تا نیم جان خود را در مفقودت سپارم  
 واعظ سخن سراپد از جور و گه ز غلمان ' من مایلیم وطن را نبود بغیر کارم  
 من مرغِ خوش نوام ابرام آسمانه ' از دُورِ خرچ کجَرَو پاریس شد گذارم  
 گیرم که شهرِ پاریس شد رشکِ خُلد و فردوس ' اما چه سود نبود آرامگاهِ بنارم  
 جشن است و خیلِ رندان افتاده مست و مدهوش ' از جامِ مهرِ ایران من مستِ هوشیارم  
 جنگ است و تار و تیور رود و بی جفانه ' من نالهٔ وطن را از دور گوش دارم  
 چون کینکِ کوهساران خوابان همه خرامان ' در گشت و در تماشا من زار و دلنگارم  
 تا جورِ دشمنان را تاراج یابد دارد ' از زندگی ملولم با درد و غم دوجارم  
 این آه و اشک و افغان امروز بی ثمر نیست ' فرداست لاله روید از تربت و مزارم  
 افروخت پورِ داود در سینه عشقِ ایران  
 ز آن روست شعله خیزد ز اشعارِ آیدارم

## (51)

One more poem by Púr-i-Dáwúd may be quoted. It is entitled "On Worship" (*andar Parastish*), and describes the different objects of devotion of different classes of men, not without a certain cynicism.

## اندر پرستش

یکی گیتی یکی بزدان پرستد ' یکی پیدا یکی پنهان پرستد  
 یکی بودا و آن دیگر برهمین ' دگر زان موسی جوان پرستد  
 یکی از روی دستور آوشتا ' فروغ و خاور رخشان پرستد  
 یکی ذاتِ مسیح ناصری را ' بساطِ حضرتِ سبحان پرستد  
 گروهی بهر و خوشبخت تازی ' حدیث و سنت و قرآن پرستد

بپایند بای الواح و بیات را  
 فقیه آرمند از حرص و شهوت  
 چه نیرنگ است باران مفتی شرع  
 نهی انبان زاهد از زر و مال  
 ۱۰ چگونم خود تو دانی واعظ شهر  
 فروشد عارف اندر وحدت ذات  
 صفا جو صوفی پشمینه پوشاک  
 دل از دُنای فانی کننده درویش  
 قلندر واله از سِرِّ انا الحق  
 ۱۱ سیه شد روزگار عاشق از عشق  
 سرشک از بس فرو یارید شد کور  
 نو خود دانی که مست یاده خواره  
 نهنگ قلزم اندیشه شاعر  
 فغان از سر دبیر روزنامه  
 ۱۲ وکیل محترم را کیش بولست  
 پزشک آمد عدوی نندرستی  
 مخم سرگم اندر سیر افلاک  
 دل بُر آرزوی کیمیاگر  
 نقد در کوره بوته در دمد دم  
 ۱۳ نهاند کیش جادوگر نهفته  
 شنبستی که رامشگر همه عمر  
 چیده چون کمان پشت کشاورز

یقانی اقدس و ایقان پرستند  
 گهی حور و گهی غلبان پرستند  
 مرید ابله و نادان پرستند  
 قصور و کوثر و رضوان پرستند  
 انین و دبدبه گریان پرستند  
 وجوب و جوهر و امکان پرستند  
 مُرید و مرشد و عرفان پرستند  
 جو جُفدی گوشه ویران پرستند  
 حبشی وحدت و قلبان پرستند  
 سواد طرّه جانان پرستند  
 هنوز او رنگش چشمان پرستند  
 کباب و پسته خندان پرستند  
 گراف و باوه و هلبان پرستند  
 دروغ و مهمل و بهتان پرستند  
 وز او محترم عتاف پرستند  
 جذام و سکنه و یرقان پرستند  
 نجوم و اختر گردان پرستند  
 زر پاکیزه و رخشان پرستند  
 بس آنگه زینتی لِرزان پرستند  
 ملول از آدم و یربان پرستند  
 نوا و نغمه و الحان پرستند  
 قشاندۀ دانه و باران پرستند

تبیند باغبان جز کشته خوش از آن رولاله و ربحان برسند  
 ندانم از چه رو فرزندان ایران که اطریش و گهی المان برسند  
 شناسم جمعی از مردان آزاد در ایران کُنده و زندان برسند  
 حذر ز آئینِ خرسِ روسی خو جفا و کینه و عدوان برسند  
 چرا مثنی ز شاگردان پاریس دل و دین داده و نسوان برسند  
 برون کرده ز دل مهرِ وطن را دوزلف و قامتِ خوبان برسند  
 اگر پرسی ز کیش پور داود  
 جوان پاریسی ایران برسند

## POEMS OF JA'FAR-I-KHĀMNĀ'I

(52)

The following poem, which might be entitled "a Persian patriot's nightmare," is by Ja'far-i-Khāmna'i of Tabriz. It was communicated to me by a friend, and I do not know that it has ever been published before.

عجب خوابی پریشان امشبِ محسوس می بینم قضای پرخطر پیش نظر محسوس می بینم  
 فتنه کشتی سبّار استقلال خورشیدی بگرداب حوادث ناخدا مأیوس می بینم  
 شه و درباریان در خواب غفلت تنگ و دیگر سو وطن بامالِ فخر انگیس و روس می بینم  
 دو گرگ آدمی خوار از پی اعنام یک گله شده م عهد و م پیمان و م مأیوس می بینم  
 ازین سان کین دو کج بالان بها تازند از هر سو بنزدیکی سیاه روس را در طوس می بینم  
 مرضیهائیکه بر جسم وطن گردیده مستولی بهر از چاره اش بقراط و جالینوس می بینم  
 بدین بد بختی ما در لغت تعبیر وافی نیست چنین لفظی نه در برهان نه در قاموس می بینم  
 ز کیف بیرونمان شد ثروت و مانند در ذلت ز فقر و فاقه ملتیرا بر ملبوس می بینم  
 بگردن طوقِ رقیبت بر نعلبمی ذلت کد قید اسارت از ادب پابوس می بینم

۱۱ "هر شد کار آن کوچی و ما خوش خفته در غفلت" بهوش از سکر لائیم از غریب کوس می بینم  
 گر از بانگ اذان امروز بیداری نشد مارا کند بیدارمان روز دگر ناقوس می بینم  
 غفلت خفته ایم اندر مفاتح و اضحلال حرامی در کمین با خدعه و سالوس می بینم  
 خدایا خود بناد دین پاکت رس که در زودی صلیب اندر فراز گبد فابوس می بینم  
 ز تأثیر نفاق مسلمین آویخ چنان گزیم لوی دین بدست مشرکین معکوس می بینم  
 هزار افسوس کلکم بشکند محراب و مسجدرا  
 بربر پای ترسازادگان مطموس می بینم

## (Translation)

- (1) "A strangely disordered dream do I see on this ill-starred night ;

I see visible before my sight a fate fraught with peril.  
 I see the moving ship of Persian<sup>1</sup> Independence fallen  
 Into the whirlpool of misfortunes, and the Captain in despair.  
 I see the King and his Courtiers sunk in the sleep of  
 heedlessness,

While on the other hand I see my Country trampled by  
 the wrath of the English and the Russians.

I see two man-eating wolves, with intent to compass the  
 destruction of a flock,

Linked by treaty, allied by promises, and grown familiar  
 with one another,

- (5) In such wise do these two disingenuous allies<sup>2</sup> attack us  
 on every side

That I see the Russian army at Tūs (Mashhad) in the  
 near future.

As for those ills which have invaded the Constitution of  
 our Country,

<sup>1</sup> *Khorshidi* means "Solar," "of the Sun," and, since the Lion and the Sun are the emblem of Persia, I take it here to mean "Persian"; just as China is called "the Celestial Empire."

<sup>2</sup> *Kaj-pidan* means a beast of burden whose pack-saddle is crooked, and is commonly used metaphorically for a shifty, dishonest and rascally fellow, or, to use the English slang equivalent, "a bad hat."



- I see even Hippocrates and Galen unable to cure them.  
 For these misfortunes of ours there is in the dictionary  
 no adequate term:  
 No such word do I find either in the *Burhān* or the *Qāmūs*<sup>1</sup>.  
 Wealth hath escaped from our hands, and we remain in  
 abasement:  
 I see the Nation clothed in the garb of poverty and  
 misery.  
 With the yoke of servitude on the neck, with the rod  
 of abasement overhead,  
 I see it politely kissing the fetters of its subjection!  
 (10) The Caravan starts in the morning, while we slumber in  
 happy heedlessness:  
 I see that not even at the sound of the drum<sup>2</sup> do we  
 awaken from our intoxication.  
 If we do not awake to-day at the sound of the *Azān*,  
 I see that the Bell will awaken us on another day<sup>3</sup>.  
 We slumber heedlessly in the pit of annihilation and self-  
 effacement,  
 While I see the robber, with his guile and hypocrisy, lying  
 in ambush.  
 O God, come Thyself to succour Thy Holy Religion, else  
 speedily  
 I see the Cross set up over the Cupola of Qābūs!  
 Alas! How can I weep [enough] at the result of Muslim  
 dissensions?  
 I see the Standard of the Faith reversed by the hands  
 of the infidels!  
 (15) A thousand times alas! May my pen break! Mosque  
 and *Mihrab*  
 I see obliterated under the feet of the Christians!"

<sup>1</sup> The *Qāmūs* of al-Firuzabādī is one of the best-known Arabic dictionaries, and the *Burhān-i-Qāmī* one of the most famous Persian lexicons.

<sup>2</sup> The beating of a drum is employed to warn travellers that the caravan is about to start.

<sup>3</sup> The *azān* is the Muhammadan as the bell is the Christian call to prayer. The meaning is, "if the appeal of Islām cannot arouse us to-day, the victorious bells of Christendom will give us a rude awakening to-morrow."

(53)

The following short poem, also by Ja'far-i-Khāmna'i, is interesting on account of its form, which is a departure from the classical arrangement of rhymes, and in this respect resembles No. 14 (pp. 200-4) *supra*.

(بوطن)

هر روز بیک منظرِ خونین بدر آئی ' هر دم مغلی تو بیک جلوه جانسوز  
 از سوزِ غمت مرغِ دلم هر شب و هر روز ' با نغمه نو تازه کند نوحه سرائی  
 ای طلعتِ افشوده و ای صورتِ مجروح ' آماجِ سیوفِ ستم آه ای وطنِ زار  
 هر سو تگرم خیمه زده لشکرِ اندوه ' محصورِ عدو مانده تو چون نقطه پرکار  
 محصورِ عدو یا خود اگر راست بگویم ' ای شیرِ زیوت کرده ترا رویِ ترسو  
 شمشیرِ جفا آخته روی تو ز هر سو  
 تا چند بخوای ؟ بگشا چشمِ خود از م ' بر خیز یکی صولتِ شیرانه نشان ده  
 یا جانِ پستان یا که درین معرکه جان ده

(Translation)

In some fresh blood-stained form at each day's dawning,  
 In some new garb of grief the whole night long  
 Thou comest, O my Country, and its song  
 My heart renews to celebrate thy mourning!

Unhappy Mother, with the wounded face,  
 And mournful mien, hemmed in by swords of foes,  
 And girt about by hosts of grievous woes,  
 Like circles which the compasses do trace.

Yes, girt by foes; for now, the truth to tell,  
 O Lion by the cowardly fox abased,  
 By cruel swords on every side thou'rt faced.

How long this sleep? Awake, unclothe thine eyes!  
Rouse thee for one last Lion-charge, and go  
To yield thy life or else destroy thy foe!

## TWO POEMS COMMUNICATED BY ASHRAF-ZĀDA

The two following poems were communicated to me on October 23, 1913, by Mīrzā Maḥmūd Khān Ashraf-zāda, formerly editor of the newspaper *Farwardīn* (published at Urmīya in Āzarbāyjān), who suffered so cruelly at the hands of the Russians in January, 1912. He quoted them from memory and cannot vouch for their verbal exactitude, while, as will be seen, lines have here and there been forgotten and their places left blank.

### (54)

This short poem, dealing with what is known in Persia as *ihṭikār* or *anbār-dārī* (i.e. making a "corner" in wheat or bread—an abuse which has frequently led to popular disturbances from ancient times), is by Mīrzā Husayn *Ṭabīb-zāda*, poetically surnamed *Kamāl*, who was the principal of the *Kamāl* College (*Madrasa-i-Kamāl*) at Tabrīz, and afterwards edited a Persian paper of the same name in Egypt, in the second number of which these verses appeared. See *supra* No. 100 (pp. 60-1) and Nos. 283-4 (p. 128).

### قطعه احتکاریه

تا محتکران را بسز نان بنان است / آشوب جهان است و خرابی زمان است  
آن طالع زیبای عدالت بهحاق است / آن طلعت نیکوی مساوات نهان است  
ای طفل گرسنه مکن این ناله و آلا / روی تو و جلی ز کف محتکران است  
ای والده برخاک ده آن زینت آغوش / زیرا بشر ارزان ز یکی لقبه نان است  
فرسود قلم بسکه ز نان قصه پرداخت / خونین بشد اوراق کمال این چه زیان است

## (Translation)

So long as the fingers of the bread-cornerers are on the bread  
 There is unrest in the world and ruin in the age.  
 That fair ascendant star of Justice is eclipsed;  
 That beauteous face of Equality is hidden.  
 O hungry child, cry not thus, or else  
 There will be a slap on thy face from the hands of the bread-  
 cornerers!  
 O mother, surrender that ornament of thy embrace to the earth,  
 For a human life is cheaper than a mouthful of bread!  
 The pen is wearied of talking so much of bread;  
 The pages of the *Kamál* are dyed with blood: what hurt is there  
 in this?

*À propos* of this holding back of corn from the people it is not  
 out of place to quote the following verse which appeared in a  
*shab-náma* secretly published at Tabriz on a similar occasion.

این قطره قطره باران کایند بگشت زاران' هر قطره اش خدنگی است بر جنم غله داران'  
 "These drops of rain which fall on the arable lands,  
 Each drop is an arrow in the eyes of the corn-holders!"

## (55)

The following poem, also communicated from memory by  
 Mirzá Mahmūd Ashraf-zāda, is a *musammas* by Mirzá Muḥammad  
 Šādiq Khān *Adīb-i-Mamlūk*, which was published in the *Adab*  
 newspaper at Mashhad, (See Nos. 38-40, pp. 37-9 *supra*.) Some  
 of the lines and verses which Ashraf-zāda had forgotten have  
 been supplied (also from memory) by Mirzá Kāzīmzāda.

## (1)

بر خیز شهربانا بر بند کجاوه' کر چرخ عیان گشت کون رایت کاوه'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 کر طول سفر حسرت من گشت علاوه'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 در دیده من بنگر دریاچه ساوه'  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 وز سیه ام آتش کده فارس نمودار'



(۲)

مانیم که از پادشاهان باج گرفتیم ' از پیکرشان دیه و دیباچ گرفتیم '  
 مانیم که از دریا امواج گرفتیم ' دیهم و سریر از گهر و عاج گرفتیم '  
 اندیشه نکردیم ز طوفان و ز تبار'

(۳)

در مصر و عدن غلغله از شوکت ما بود ' در چین و خُن ولوله از قدرت ما بود '  
 در اندلس و روم عیان قوت ما بود ' غرناطه و اشیلیه در طاعت ما بود '  
 فرمان همایون قضا آیت ما بود '  
 جاری بزمین و فلک و ثابت و سیار'

(۴)

مرغاب پساتین را متعار بریدند ' اوراق ریاحین را طومار دریدند '  
 گاوان شکوهاره بگلزار چریدند ' گرگان ز پی یوسف بسیار دویدند '  
 تا عاقبت اورا سوی بازار کشیدند ' یاران بدرخندش و اغیار خریدند '  
 آوخ ز فروشنده دریغا ز خریدار'

(۵)

چون خانه خدا خُفت عس ماند ز رفتن ' خادم بی خوردن شد و بانو بی ختنن '  
 جاسوس پس پرده بی راز نهفتن ' قاضی همه جا در طلب رشوه گرفتن '  
 واعظ بنسوان خواندن و افسانه شنیدن ' نه وقت شنیدن دگر و موقع گفتن '  
 آمد سر همسایه برون از پس دیوار'

(٦)

چون برّهٔ بیچاره به جوانش نیوست از بیم بصرها در نه خفت و نه نشست  
 خری بشکار آمد و بازویش فرو بست شد برّهٔ ما طعمهٔ آن خرس زبردست  
 افسوس بر آن برّهٔ نوزادهٔ سرمست  
 فریاد از آن خرس گفن سال شکم خوار

(٧)

افسوس که این مزرعه را آب گرفته دهقان جگر سوخته را خواب گرفته  
 رخسار هنر گونه مهتاب گرفته چشمان خرد پرده ز خواب گرفته  
 خون دل ما رنگ می ناب گرفته  
 ثروت شده بی مایه و صحت شده بیمار

(٨)

ابری شده بالا و گرفتست فزارا وز دود شرر تیره نبوده است هوارا  
 سوزانده بمرخ اختر و در خاک گیارا آتش زده سگان زمین را و سمارا  
 ای واسطهٔ رحمت حق بهر خدارا زمین خاک بگردان ره طوفان بلارا  
 بشکاف ز م سینهٔ این ابر شرر بار

## THE LAMENT OF THE KINE

(56)

The following very simple and even uncouth verses, wherein a Persian peasant is supposed to apostrophize his cow, appeared under the heading *Adabiyyât-i-Bâbâ Ahmad* ("Bâbâ Ahmad's Literary Column") in No. 11 of the *Chantâ'-i-Pâ-barahua* ("Beggar's Wallet"), which bears no date.



ادبیات بابا اسماعیل

"The Lament of the Kine"

From No. 11 of the *Chanta-i-Pi-barakua* or "Beggar's Wallet"

!



## ادبیات بابا احمد

!

ای رنجبر سیاه چرده  
 تا چند بخواب نیم مرده  
 بنمای بگاو مهریانی  
 باقی همه را خودت میدانی  
 ای داده پیاره سنگ پهلوی  
 ارباب تو خفته در ابروی  
 بر دار دو بوسه تو از چهر  
 هر گوی بگاو از ره مهر  
 ای رنگ پلو بخواب دیده  
 ای سوی کساب تا شنیده  
 ای گاو من ای شریک رحمت  
 رحمت تو صد هزار رحمت  
 دایم تو بزرگمئی و رنجی  
 از رنج تو برده اند گنجی  
 ای گاو اگر نمودی ایران  
 ایران بودی تمام ویران  
 از نان نگشته اشکمت سیر  
 با خورده بعمر خویش انجیر  
 ای حسیب نان بگور برده  
 آباد زمانه هم ز بودت  
 ای نسل نو از زمانه خیزد  
 ای خفته بیهلوی مغبلان  
 ای آیت رحمت خدائی  
 هر خیز که موسم بهار است  
 ای گاو ضعیف لاغری من  
 بر خیز ز لانات برون شو  
 ای گاو بدان که مدعی کیست  
 شد فصل بهار و موسم دی  
 ای ارباب بمرده بونجه و کاه  
 ارباب بسوی ده شتابان  
 شاه است و دلش هر آنچه خواهد  
 از بهر تشریح بیایان  
 هین بره و جوجه کن تپه  
 از روزی ما و تو بکاهد  
 هم بهر خوراک هم هدیه

رحمت ز من و تو است در دهر      از بهر یکی شکر دگر زهر  
 ای همدم گاو و مونس وی      بر خیز گشت موسم دی  
 من با تو مدام در تنگایو      کار از خر و خوردش زیابو  
 بر خیز بگاو کن حکایت      از رحمت و رنج بی شکایت  
 ما بهر شیار و تخم کردن      بیابو و آقا برای خوردن  
 این گاو ترا بود پرستار      در گشت و در تو معاون و یار  
 این رسم زمانه دو رنگ است  
 يك رنج کش آن یکی زرنگ است

From a literary point of view these verses have little value, but they are interesting as an attempt to arouse the Persian peasant to a sense of his miserable condition, and as presenting a certain analogy with the opening of the ancient Zoroastrian *Gāthās* (probably the oldest literary monument of the Iranian people), in which, to quote the words prefixed by Dr L. H. Mills to his translation of *Yasna xxix*, "the Soul of the Kine, as representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood, raises its voice, and, expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people, addresses Ahura and His Divine Order, *Asha*, in bitterness". In verses 1-4 the poet addresses the peasant and bids him speak to his cow in the words of verses 5-24. In the last five verses the poet again addresses the peasant as follows:

"O companion of the cow and her friend, arise, for the season of  
 Winter hath passed!  
 I am ever travelling with thee: the work is the ass's and its  
 food the pony's.  
 Arise, and tell the cow about uncomplaining trouble and labour.  
 We are for the ploughing and the tilling, the pony and the  
 Master for the eating.  
 This cow is thy servant, the friendly helper in sowing and reaping.  
 This is the way of inconstant Fortune: one bears the toil and  
 another is clever [enough to enjoy the proceeds]."

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East Series*, vol. xxxi, the *Zend Avesta*. Part III, by L. H. Mills, p. 3.

I conclude this selection with five epigrams, hitherto, I believe, unpublished. The first, of which the author desires to remain anonymous, is directed against M. Mornard, the Belgian official who replaced Mr Morgan Shuster as Treasurer-General. The low opinion which it expresses of the former may be profitably compared with the high opinion of the latter expressed in No. 33 (pp. 250-2 *supra*).

(57)

گویند مردمان اروپا که کذب و رشید  
با طینت اهالی ایران سرشته‌اند  
هستند اگر ننوس اردیا جو مرنارد  
ایرانیان بنسبت ایشان فرشته‌اند

(Translation)

The Persian nature—so the Franks repeat—  
Is fraught with falsehood, fashioned with deceit:  
Yet if by Mornard we may judge the Franks  
The Persian nature with the Angels ranks!

(58)

The following epigram is remarkable amongst the poems cited as being directed against the Constitutionalists, though the author, *Maliku'l-Kalām* of Kurdistan, poetically surnamed *Majdi*, whose proper name is 'Abdu'l-Majid, the son of the late Mirzā Shukru'llāh *Fakhrū'l-Kuttab*, subsequently stated that it was only intended to apply to "those robbers who came forward in the garb of Constitutionalists."

(59)

ز بس مشروطه خواهان بر ضعیفان  
جو استبدادیان بیداد کردند  
ضعیفان از برای دفع ایشان  
ز استبداد استبداد کردند

(Translation)

Those for Democracy who claim to speak  
Like Despots so oppress the poor and weak  
That these at last, their malice to escape,  
E'en from the Despots now assistance seek.

The same poet, in fact, has the two following pieces of verse in favour of the Constitution and against the Autocracy.

## (60)

ملکِ ایران بود مانندِ مریضِ مختضر  
 اهلِ استبداد بودند از قسادِ اخلاطِ وی  
 از برای دفعِ اخلاطِ رذیله زین مریض  
 مجلسِ شورای ملی گشتِ اِنتیْمونِ فی  
 گر بیابد ره بطعِ این مریضِ اخلاطِ باز  
 میکند طومارِ عمرِ این مریضِ اخلاطِ طی

## \* (Translation)

The Kingdom of Persia was like unto a man sick unto death;  
 The partisans of Despotism were, in their mischief, the malignant humours.

For the expulsion of these evil humours from the sick man  
 The National Assembly became as an emetic of antimony.  
 If these humours should again find their way into the constitution of the patient,  
 They will roll up the scroll of the sick man's life!

## (61)

گر نظر در کارِ استبداد و مشروطه کنی  
 فرقی استبداد با مشروطه باشد یشمار  
 وقتِ استبداد میخسند سگ از بهرِ صید  
 گاه مشروطه بجویند آدمی از بهرِ کار

## (Translation)

If you look at the deeds of Despotism and Constitutionalism  
 The differences between Despotism and Constitutionalism are countless.

In the days of Despotism they sought dogs for the chase:  
 In the days of the Constitution they seek men for work!

I much regret that the limits imposed on the size of this book do not permit me to add to the number of poems here cited. The mass of available material was so great that I have been obliged to limit the selection almost entirely to



contemporary political and topical poetry, and of this to admit only what had hitherto remained unpublished, or had been published only in an ephemeral form in the newspapers, and which, for some reason, appeared to me of some especial interest in form or matter.

Amongst the contemporary poems separately published in the form of tracts or pamphlets I should like especially to mention a remarkable *tasdīs* (or "six-some") based on a *qaṣīda* of the celebrated classical poet Khāqānī of Shīrwān by my very accomplished friend Husayn Dānish, son of Mirzā Hāshim of Isfahān, who, long resident at Constantinople in the service of the Turkish Government, is recognized as one of the leading contemporary writers both in Persian and Turkish. This poem, entitled (in Turkish) "the Ruins of Ctesiphon" (*Medd' in Kharābalarī*), is dedicated to another most learned, accomplished and single-minded friend of mine, Dr Rīzā Tevfīq, Deputy for Adrianople in the last Turkish Parliament, who contributes a critical and historical preface. It was published at Constantinople in A.H. 1330 (A.D. 1912), when Persia's fortunes were at their darkest and her foes at their cruellest, as a small tract of 37 pp. at the modest price of three piastres (about 7½d.). In the same year, on March 21, on the occasion of the Persian *Naw-rūs*, or New Year's Day, the same poet published (also at Constantinople) another fine poem "for Persia" (*Irān-ichun*), dedicated to the eminent Turkish man of letters Tevfīq Fikret Bey, entitled "A New Year's Present" (*Hadiyya-i-Sāl*), and comprising 56 couplets. From both of these works I should like to have quoted here, both on account of the beauty and pathos of the verses, and on account of my regard for the author; but both poems should be read in their entirety to be judged fairly, and, moreover, can without difficulty be obtained from Constantinople.

Mention has already been made in Part I of this book of a periodical publication, in magazine form, issued at irregular intervals, beginning on April 20, 1908, entitled *Dabiriyya*, written by Mirzā Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Rahmān *Dabirul-Mamluk*, and containing an extensive selection of the verses (estimated by their author at 35,000) composed by him during the preceding thirty

or forty years. Most of these poems refer to the leading Persian statesmen and courtiers of this period, and many of them are satires, which naturally had to remain in manuscript until the greater freedom of the Press inaugurated by the Constitutional Régime permitted their publication. I am indebted to Mr H. L. Rabino for a bound volume containing a good many numbers of this magazine. The poems which it contains vary a good deal in quality and merit, and, though some of them deal with events subsequent to the deposition of Muḥammad 'Alī and the enthronement of his young son Sultān Ahmād, the reigning sovereign, they are on the whole of an old-fashioned type, and the satirical poems incline to that coarseness of language which is characteristic of most of the older *hajwīyyāt* and *hasīyyāt*.

## APPENDIX

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### A Brief Chronology of the Persian Revolution.

From December, 1905 to April, 1912.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERSIAN REVOLUTION

For convenience of reference, and for the better understanding of the sequence of events illustrated by the preceding poems, a brief statement of the principal events and epochs of the Persian Revolution, or Constitutional Movement, is here appended. Details of these events down to the Nationalist victory of July, 1909, the capture of Tihān, and the deposition of the ex-Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī, will be found in my *Persian Revolution, 1905-1909* (Cambridge, 1910). The connected history of the subsequent period, which I hope to embody in another volume, has not yet been written, and must be pieced together from Blue Books and press-cuttings, supplemented by such oral and written evidence as is obtainable. The admirable Persian "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (*Tārīkh-i Bidāri-yi Irāniyān*) of the *Nāẓimū'l-Islām* of Kirmān, of which up to the present time only the Introduction (pp. 272), first volume (pp. 255), and second volume (pp. 240) have been published, does not at present carry the story beyond July, 1906, and so stops short of the granting of the Constitution by Muẓaffarū'd-Dīn Shāh (August 5, 1906) and the opening of the First National Assembly (October 7, 1906). For all events before these dates it is by far the richest source available, and contains the texts of many important documents and masses of detail not to be found elsewhere.

From the earliest historical times until 1906 the government of Persia was, both in theory and in practice, an absolute despotism, of which the general character is well described by Mr. E. G. Watson at pp. 12-13 and 15-20 of his admirable *History of Persia from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858*. Signs of a new ferment appeared in Persia, as in so many other countries, in the memorable year 1848, at the end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and the beginning of that of his successor, Nasirū'd-Dīn Shāh, when the Bābī insurrection threatened for three or four years the stability of the Qājār Dynasty. This movement, though essentially religious, was not, as the Comte de Gobineau has well indicated, devoid of political significance, and above all showed the Persian character in a new, unexpected and heroic light. It was contemporary with and violently opposed by one of the greatest Ministers whom Persia has produced in recent times, Mīrzā Taqī Khān *Amīr-i Kabīr*, whose courage, integrity and far-sighted political vision have led the recent historians of the Constitution to claim him as the fore-runner of the Constitutional Movement, or at any rate as a very wise and sincere patriot. Spiritually this may be true, but historically he belongs entirely to the "Days of Autocracy" (*Ayyām-i Istibḍāʾ*), that long period of some 2500 years through which the history of Persia can be clearly and certainly traced, and which by analogy should be called (for I have not



actually met with the expression) "the Greater Autocracy" (*Istibdad-i-Kabir*), in contradistinction to "the Lesser Autocracy" (*Istibdad-i-Saghir*) which lasted from June 23, 1908 to July 16, 1909, and of which we shall shortly speak.

The history of the Constitutional struggle in Persia may be divided into the following periods:

I. The Preparatory Period, or Prodromata of the Revolution.

II. The First Constitutional Period (August 5, 1906-June 23, 1908), or Period of the First *Majlis* or National Assembly (October 7, 1906-June 23, 1908).

III. The "Lesser Autocracy" (*Istibdad-i-Saghir*), during which the Constitution was suspended and the ex-Shah, Muhammad 'Ali, re-established despotic rule (June 23, 1908-July 16, 1909).

IV. The Second Constitutional Period (July 16, 1909-December 24, 1911), which was brought to an end by the Russian Ultimatums of November 12 and November 29, the expulsion of Mr W. Morgan Shuster, Treasurer-General, and the invasion of North Persia by the Russians, with the concomitant atrocities committed by them and their myrmidons at Tabriz, Rasht and elsewhere (December, 1911 and January, 1912 onwards).

V. The present anomalous period, which can be described neither as Autocratic nor Constitutional, the Persian Government being terrorized and paralysed by Russia, which is gradually converting all North Persia into what is called in the cant of diplomacy a "Veiled Protectorate" (January 1, 1912 to the date of writing).

Some of the principal events and dates of the first four of these periods (for the last appears to be but a death-agony or mortal lethargy) will now be given.

### 1. *The Preparatory Period.*

The beginning of this cannot be exactly fixed, but it may be divided into two parts, one of intellectual preparation and propaganda, and one of actual revolt against the prevailing intolerable conditions. The intellectual preparation was chiefly the work of two men, Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din al-Afghani (born 1838, died 1897) and Prince Malkom Khan *Nasimud-Dawla* (born 1833, died 1908), and their disciples. The manifold political activities of the former, which are fully discussed in the first chapter of my *Persian Revolution*, began, so far as the Near East is concerned, about 1870, when he visited Egypt and Constantinople for the first time. In Persia his direct activity was greatest during the years 1886-1890, when he was expelled ignominiously; but his indirect influence survived his death in 1897, and was the chief factor in the revolt against the Tobacco Régie (May, 1890-January, 1892) and the assassination of Nasiru'd-Din Shah (May 1, 1896) by Mirza Riza of Kirman, one of the Sayyid's disciples. Prince Malkom Khan's monthly paper, the *Qanun* ("Law"), which all students of the subject agree in regarding as one of the most potent literary factors in bringing about

the Constitutional Movement, first appeared on February 20, 1890, and seems to have continued publication for about three years and a half, forty-one monthly numbers having been issued in all. The successful revolt against the Tobacco Concession in 1891 was a momentous epoch in the history of Persia, and may fairly be regarded as the starting-point of the Revolution, of which, however, the immediate prodromata began in December, 1905. The chief of these events, with their dates, down to the granting of the Constitution on August 5, 1906, are as follows:

### 1905

*Dec. 13, 1905.* Merchants and Sayyids bastinadoed by 'Alī'u'd-Dawla, with the approval of 'Aynū'd-Dawla, on account of the rise in the price of sugar. Bazaars closed and assembly at *Masjid-i Shāh*.

*Dec. 13, 1905.* Some two thousand *mullās*, students and merchants, headed by Sayyid Muḥammad Tabāṭabā'i and Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Babbahānī, leave Tihṛān as a protest and take sanctuary at the Shrine of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīm. This is known as the *Hijrat-i Sughra* or "Lesser Exodus" (هجرت صغری).

### 1906

*Jan. 12, 1906.* After prolonged negotiations with the Shāh and his Court and Ministers, the fugitives (*muhajjirīn*) return to Tihṛān on receiving from the Shāh an autograph rescript (*dast-khaft*), which was publicly read in the Mosque on the same day, promising the establishment of a "House of Justice" (*Adalat-khāna*), the dismissal of the obnoxious Ministers 'Aynū'd-Dawla and 'Alī'u'd-Dawla, and other demands of the people as voiced by their spiritual leaders the *mullās*. On this day, according to the "History of the Awakening of the Persians," the cry of "Long live the Persian Nation!" (*Zinda bād Millat-i Irān!*) was first heard. On the following day Tihṛān was illuminated as a sign of joy.

*June 17, 1906.* Mīrzā Hasan Rushdiyya, *Majdu'l-Isām* of Kirman and Mīrzā Aqā of Isfahān were exiled to Kalāt.

*June 21, 1906.* During a successful attempt made by the people to rescue one of their leaders, who had been arrested by the soldiers, some fifteen persons, including two Sayyids named Husayn and 'Abdu'l-Majid, were shot dead. The increasing discontent of the people, who saw themselves cheated of the promised reforms, was met by increasing severity on the part of the Government.

*July 6, 1906.* Sayyid Muḥammad Tabāṭabā'i preached to a vast crowd, denouncing the existing tyranny and misgovernment and urging the absolute necessity of a "House of Justice."

*July, 1906.* The leading ecclesiastics, accompanied by a vast concourse of students, merchants and others, left Tihṛān for the holy city of 'Qum, where they took sanctuary. This is what is known as the *Hijrat-i Kubra*, or "Greater Exodus" (هجرت کبری). About the

same time a number of merchants, bankers, tradesmen and others, with the permission of the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr Grant Duff, took refuge in the grounds of the British Legation at Tihān. The numbers increased daily, until they finally reached some 13,000 or 14,000 souls.

Aug. 5, 1906. Muzaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh finally gave way, granted a Constitution and Parliament, dismissed the *'Ayni'd-Dawla*, and promised monetary compensation to the relatives of the murdered Sayyids. This event, celebrated a few days later with great rejoicings as "the National Victory" (*Fath-i-Milli*), marks the beginning of the Constitutional Epoch. According to the Muhammadan Calendar it fell on the 14th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1324, and its first anniversary was celebrated with great splendour and enthusiasm on the same date of the following Muhammadan year, corresponding with July 25, 1907, under the title of "the National Festival" (*Jashn-i-Milli*).

## II. *The First Constitutional Period.*

(*Mashrūfa-i-Awval*), Aug. 5, 1906–June 23, 1908.

Aug. 19, 1906. Solemn official opening of the new House of Parliament in presence of the high ecclesiastical authorities, who were entertained as the Shāh's guests for three days.

Sept. 9, 1906. Electoral Law promulgated.

Sept. 18–27, 1906. A number of citizens of Tabriz took refuge at the British Consulate there as a protest against the tyranny of Muhammad 'Ali Mīrzā, the Crown Prince, afterwards Shāh.

Oct. 7, 1906. The first *Majlis*, or National Assembly was opened under the presidency of *Sani'd-Dawla*.

Nov. 23, 1906. Proposed joint Anglo-Russian Loan of £400,000 rejected by the *Majlis*.

Nov. 25, 1906. The newspaper *Majlis* first appeared.

Dec. 27, 1906. The newspaper *Nidā-yi-Wafān* first appeared.

Dec. 30, 1906. The Fundamental Laws were ratified by Muzaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh and promulgated, and the form of the Persian Constitution was thus fixed and defined.

## 1907

Jan. 8, 1907. Death of Muzaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh.

Jan. 19, 1907. Coronation of his son Muhammad 'Ali, of which the *Majlis* received no official notification, and to which none of its Members were invited.

Feb. 7, 1907. Arrival at Tihān of the Tabriz Deputies, including Sayyid Taqī-zāda, who received a great ovation.

Feb. 10, 1907. The Shāh was compelled by the *Majlis* to dismiss M. Naus, the unpopular Belgian Chief of the Customs.

March 17, 1907. The *Mushir'u'd-Dawla* resigned the Premiership.

April 20, 1907. The *Aminu's-Sultān*, or *Atābak-i-A'zam*, returned



to Persia after three and a half years' exile to assume, at the invitation of the Shāh, the position of Premier.

*April 29, 1907.* The Tihrán *Hablu'l-Matin* newspaper founded.

*May, 1907.* Plot contrived by Rahīm Khān and his son to raise a disturbance in Tabriz and murder leading Constitutionalists. It was believed to have been instigated by the Shāh.

*May 26, 1907.* This being the eve of the Shāh's birthday, and Tihrán decorated and prepared for illumination, the people pulled down the decorations and would not allow them to be replaced until the Shāh banded over Rahīm Khān to the Ministry of Justice to stand his trial for conspiracy.

*May 30, 1907.* The weekly newspaper *Sār-i-Isrāfil* first appeared.

*June, 1907.* Rebellion of the Shāh's brother *Sādrū'd-Dawla* at Hamadān. He was defeated on the historic field of Nihāwand, and surrendered, on his safety being guaranteed, to the Shāh's representative on June 22.

*July 25, 1907.* Celebration of the "National Festival" (*Jashn-i-Millī*) on the first anniversary (according to the Muhammadan Calendar) of the granting of the Constitution.

*Aug. 31, 1907.* The Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed. The *Aminu's-Sultān*, or *Atabak-i-A'zam*, was shot by 'Abbās Aqā, a money-changer of Tabriz, as he was leaving the National Assembly, and died half an hour later. The assassin committed suicide.

*Sept. 4, 1907.* Sir Cecil Spring Rice's celebrated Memorandum (*Yād-dāsh*), designed to allay the anxieties of the Persians as to the scope and aim of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, was communicated to the Persian Foreign Minister, and was published ten days later in the Tihrán *Hablu'l-Matin* (No. 115).

*Sept. 10, 1907.* *Ihtishāmu's-Saltana* elected President of the Assembly.

*Sept. 13, 1907.* Death of Nasru'llāh Khān *Mushirū'd-Dawla*. *Sādu'd-Dawla* made Foreign Minister.

*Oct. 1, 1907.* The Princes of the Blood and Nobles of the Court attended the National Assembly and swore an oath of allegiance to the Constitution.

*Oct. 2, 1907.* *Sādu'd-Dawla* resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of the *Nāzirū'l-Mulk* (the present Regent). This Cabinet resigned on the 14th of December, 1907.

*Oct. 6, 1907.* The fortieth day (*chilla*) after the death of 'Abbās Aqā, who killed the *Aminu's-Sultān*, was celebrated with great enthusiasm and circumstance by a large number of his admirers.

*Nov. 6, 1907.* The newspaper *Rūhu'l-Qudus* ("the Holy Spirit") published a violent and threatening article addressed to the Shāh, and was suppressed by the National Assembly in consequence.

*Nov. 12, 1907.* The Shāh visited the National Assembly in state, and again swore fidelity to the Constitution.



*Dec. 15, 1907.* Beginning of the "Abortive Coup d'État" (called by the Persians *Wāq'ā-i-Maydan-i-Tūp-khāna*, "the Event of the Artillery Square," which place served as the rallying-point of the Shah's hired ruffians). Arrest and threatened destruction by the Shah of the *Nāqirūl-Mulk*, who was saved by the intervention of the British Legation, and left Persia next day for Europe. Complete triumph of the Assembly and collapse of the Shah on Dec. 22. A new Cabinet was formed under *Nizāmū's-Saltāna*. The *Zillū's-Sulṭān* was ordered to leave Tihiran.

### 1908

*Feb. 1908.* An attempt was made on the Shah's life by means of a bomb, which killed one of his attendants and wrecked an automobile. The thrower of the bomb was never identified.

*April, 1908.* The *Ihtishāmū's-Saltāna* resigned the Presidency of the National Assembly, and was succeeded by *Mumtāzū'd-Dawla*. Several prominent reactionaries who had taken part in the Abortive Coup d'État of the preceding December, or in the murder of the Zoroastrian Arthāb Firidūn, were exiled to Kalāt, or bastinadoed, or both. Amongst these were *Sanī'i-Haḡrat* (afterwards hanged on July 29, 1909) and *Muḡtadīr-i-Nizām*.

*May, 1908.* Increasing tension between the Shah and the National Assembly.

*June 2, 1908.* Intervention, with implied threats, of the Russian Minister M. de Hartwig and the British Chargé d'Affaires Mr Marling on behalf of the Shah.

*June 3, 1908.* Flight of the Shah, escorted by Persian Cossacks under the command of the Russian Colonel Liakhoff, from Tihiran to his adjacent garden, the *Bāgh-i-Shah*.

*June 5, 1908.* At the invitation of the Shah, a deputation of notables waited on him at the *Bāgh-i-Shah*, but were treacherously arrested.

*June 11, 1908.* The Shah proclaimed martial law and threatened to bombard the *Majlis-i-Sipahsālār* unless the people there assembled dispersed.

*June 12, 1908.* The Shah demanded the expulsion of eight popular leaders, control of the Press, and disarmament of the National Volunteers.

*June 23, 1908.* The Bombardment of the Majlis (*Tūp-bandī-yi-Majlis*), Coup d'État (*Zarb-i-Hukūmat*), or Reactionary Triumph (*Waq'ā-i-Irtifādiyya*), carried out by the instrumentality of Colonel Liakhoff and the other Russian officers of the Persian Cossack Brigade. A number of leaders of the popular party were arrested and carried captive to *Bāgh-i-Shah*. Hājji Mirzā Ibrahim Aqā, Deputy for Tabriz, was killed.

*June 24, 1908.* Mirzā Juhāngīr Khān of Shirāz, editor of the *Sūr-i-Isrāfil*, and the *Malikūl-Mutakallimīn*, a prominent orator, were strangled in the *Bāgh-i-Shah*. Some of the Nationalists whose lives were in danger took refuge in the British Legation. Many houses

of persons obnoxious to the Shah, including those of his uncle the *Zillu's-Sultân*, and his cousin Prince *Jahâd-Dawla*, were destroyed and looted. Colonel Liakhoff was appointed military governor of Tihân.

### III. "*The Lesser Tyranny*" or "*Autocracy*" (*Istibâd-i-Saghîr*).

During this period, which lasted from the Coup d'État of June 23, 1908, and the destruction of the First National Assembly until the Nationalist victory and deposition of Muhammad 'Ali on July 16, 1909, the Constitution was suspended and Reaction was dominant in Tihân. Tabriz, however, rallied gallantly to the Constitutional Cause, under the leadership of Sattâr Khân and Bâqir Khân, expelled the Reactionaries, and sustained a siege of nine months, which was brought to an end on April 29, 1909, by the entrance of Russian troops under General Znarsky. Meanwhile its resistance had given time and encouragement to the Nationalists, who were at first bewildered and discouraged by the Coup d'État, to rally, and two armies were gradually formed, one at Rasht under the nominal leadership of the *Sipahdâr*, another consisting of the Bakhtiârî tribesmen under the leadership of their chief *Sardâr-i-'Arâd*, and these two forces gradually converged until they effected a junction at Karach to the west of Tihân on July 8, 1909. After indecisive skirmishes at Shâhâbid and Bâdâmuk, a body of the Nationalists, eluding the vigilance of the Royalist troops and the Cossack Brigade, slipped through the lines of their opponents and entered Tihân on July 13. Fighting continued in the capital for four days, until finally, on Friday, July 16, the ex-Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation, which act was considered as tantamount to abdication, and Colonel Liakhoff and the Cossack Brigade surrendered. The ex-Shah's son, Sultân Ahmad, aged only twelve years, was proclaimed King, and the aged *'Azud-Mulk* Regent; the Constitution was re-established, and steps were taken as soon as possible to convene a new *Majlis* or National Assembly. The principal events of this period of thirteen months, with their dates, are as follows:

*August 4, 1908.* The defenders of Tabriz are greatly encouraged by news of the successful Revolution in Turkey.

*August 20, 1908.* *'Aynu'd-Dawla* and the *Sipahdâr* arrive before Tabriz to prosecute the siege.

*Sept. 16, 1908.* The "Race-course Incident" at Tihân, where Indian *murders* of the British Legation guard are attacked by Persian Cossacks. Colonel Liakhoff is compelled to apologize, and the incident is hushed up.

*Oct. 1, 1908.* Sir George Barclay arrives at Tihân as British Minister.

*Oct. 5, 1908.* Defeat of Royalists at Tabriz.

*Oct. 11, 1908.* Four hundred Persian Cossacks under the command of the Russian Captain Ushakoff leave Tihân to take part in the siege of Tabriz.

*Oct. 12, 1908.* Further Nationalist success at Tabriz.

*Oct. 17, 1908.* Russia threatens to intervene at Tabriz, but Sir Edward Grey informs her that such intervention "will create a very bad impression" in England, and she desists.

*Oct. 30, 1908.* Formation of the Persia Committee in London.

*Nov. 7, 1908.* Fictitious demonstration against the revival of the Constitution at the *Bāgh-i Shāh*.

*November (middle).* M. de Hartwig, the Russian Minister, leaves Tih-rān for good.

*Nov. 19, 1908.* The Shāh issues a proclamation declaring that he will not restore the old or grant any new Constitution.

*December (middle).* Expulsion of M. Panoff, the Bulgarian revolutionary and correspondent of the Russian paper *Ryech*, from Tih-rān by the Russian Legation.

## 1909

*Jan. 5, 1909.* *Samādmī's Saltāna* at the head of a Bakhti-yārī force takes possession of Isfahān, expels the Shāh's representative, and declares for the Constitution.

*January (end).* Arrival of Mr W. A. Moore as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle* at Tabriz.

*Feb. 8, 1909.* Rasht is seized by the Nationalists, the Shāh's governor killed, and the Constitution proclaimed.

*Feb. 11, 1909.* The last road open into Tabriz, that from Julfā, is occupied by the Royalists, and the blockade of the city completed.

*Feb. 22, 1909.* Sattār Khān vainly endeavours to re-open the Julfā Road.

*March 7, 1909.* Sattār Khān's "distinguished personal courage" praised by Mr Wratisslaw, the British Consul at Tabriz.

*April 20, 1909.* With Sir Edward Grey's approval, it was decided to send Russian troops to raise the siege of starving Tabriz, open the roads, and bring in supplies.

*April 21, 1909.* A last attempt was made by the besieged to break out of Tabriz to obtain provisions. The *sortie* was led by Mr W. A. Moore and Mr Baskerville, a young American. The latter was killed.

*April 29, 1909.* Arrival of the Russian force under General Znarsky at Tabriz.

*May 5, 1909.* The Constitutionalist army of Rasht occupied Qazwin.

*May 6, 1909.* Persian Cossacks commanded by the Russian Captain Zapolski were sent out to guard the Karach bridge, and the Nationalists were advised by the Russian Legation, with threats, to desist from their advance.

*May 17, 1909.* The *Sipahdār* formulates the four demands of the Constitutionalist.

*May 22, 1909.* Yūsuf of Hukmābād (who was afterwards, in Jan. 1912, most cruelly put to death and his body cut in two and hung up in



the street by *Shujā'ud-Dawla*, the Russian *protégé*<sup>1</sup>) was arrested by the Russians and his house blown up with dynamite at Tabriz.

*May* (latter part). Sattār Khān, Bāqir Khān, Taqī-zāda, and other leading Constitutionalists take refuge in the Turkish Consulate at Tabriz as a protest against the high-handed actions of the Russians.

*June 17, 1909.* The Bakhtiāris begin their march on Tihān.

*June 23, 1909.* The advance guard of the Bakhtiāris reaches Qum.

*June 27, 1909.* Further attempt on the part of the British Minister and the Russian Charge d'Affaires to check the Bakhtiāri advance.

*June 30, 1909.* Russian expeditionary force assembled at Bākū.

*July 4, 1909.* Skirmish at Shāhābād. Eight demands formulated by the *Sipahdār*.

*July 4-6, 1909.* Armistice of two days.

*July 8, 1909.* Two or three thousand Russian troops disembarked at Anzālī.

*July 11, 1909.* Russian troops reach Qazwin. Skirmish at Bādāmāk.

*July 12, 1909.* Fighting renewed at Bādāmāk.

*July 13, 1909.* Tihān entered by part of the Nationalist forces, headed by Bakhtiāris. After four days' fighting (July 13-16) during which some 500 men were killed (no European being hurt) Muhammad 'Alī took refuge in the Russian Legation and abdicated. Colonel Liakhoff and the Cossack Brigade surrendered. This event is known as *Fath-i-Millī* ("the National Victory," فتح ملی) with which the Third Period, called "the Lesser Tyranny" (*Istibdād-i-Saghīr*) concludes.

IV. *The Second Constitutional Period (Mashrūṭa-i-Thānī)*, beginning with the accession of Sultān Ahmad Shāh, and ending with the dissolution of the Second National Assembly and the Russian aggressions of Dec. 1911 and Jan. 1912<sup>1</sup>.

*July 18, 1909.* The *quondam* Crown Prince (*Walt-'ahd*), Sultān Ahmad, was proclaimed Shāh, entered Tihān, where he was enthusiastically received, on July 20, held his first reception (*darbār*) on July 21, and was formally recognized by Russia and England on the same or the following day.

*July 26, 1909.* The ex-Shāh was offered a pension of £5000 a year on condition of his leaving Persia at once. Russia threatens a punitive expedition against the Shāhseverī tribesmen, and increases the number of her troops at Qazwin to 2300 men. A special Court-martial (*Diwān-i-Harb*) was instituted to try political offenders at Tihān.

<sup>1</sup> As my *Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, though recording the opening of the Second National Assembly on Nov. 15, 1909, gives a continued narrative of events only to the Conquest of Tihān in July, 1909, I have made the chronology of this period very much fuller than the previous ones, though it is covered by Mr. Morgan Shuster's admirable work *The Strangling of Persia* (published in 1912). Mr. Shuster's narrative, however, only becomes full and continuous from the date of his arrival in Persia (May 11, 1911).



July 29, 1909. Execution of *Mufakkhiri'l-Mulk* (former Head of the Police at Tihrán) and *San'i-i-Hazrat*.

July 30, 1909. Colonel Liakhoff recalled to Russia. He left Tihrán on August 4.

July 31, 1909. Execution of the *Ajūdān-bāshī*, who commanded the artillery to fire on the *Majlis* on June 23, 1908; and of Shaykh Faḡlu'llāh, on the charge of complicity in the murder of Mirzā Muṣṭafā, son of Mirzā Hasan Ashtiyānī, and one of the students of the German College.

Aug. 4, 1909. Ex-Shāh's pension fixed at £15,000 a year.

Aug. 5, 1909. The *Zillī's-Sultān*, uncle of the ex-Shāh, reached Anzali from Vienna, where he was detained, and not allowed to leave again for Europe until he paid a forfeit of £60,000, which he only consented to do on August 23.

Aug. 8, 1909. Rahīm Khān plunders an Armenian village in N.W. Persia and massacres the inhabitants. Taqī-zāda arrives at Tihrán from Tabriz. The Reactionary Mir Hāshim is captured.

Aug. 9, 1909. Mir Hāshim and his brother are hanged.

Aug. 13, 1909. Trial of the editor of the Tihrán *Habib-i-Matin*, Sayyid Hasan of Kāshān (see p. 74 *supra*), for publishing an article alleged to be derogatory of Islām. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Aug. 17, 1909. The extraordinary National Council (*Majlis-i-'Alī*) consisting of some 300 or 400 members, which was formed on the capture of Tihrán, is supplemented by a Directory (*Hay'at-i-Mudira*) of twenty persons, including both the *Sipahdār* and the *Sardār-i-As'ad*. The elections "in the first degree" for the new National Assembly were concluded at Tihrán. A box containing 60,000 gold *tāmandar* was discovered at the Ministry of Finance. The debts of the ex-Shāh to the Russian Bank and other creditors were estimated at £400,000.

Aug. 18, 1909. Rebellions in N.W. Persia, headed by Rahīm Khān and the Shāhseven tribesmen, who threaten Ardabil, *Iqbālī's-Saltāna* at Mākū, and Mullā Qurbān 'Alī at Zanjan.

Aug. 19, 1909. Proposed tax on alcohol, opium and salt (known as *Dū'ira-i-thalātha*) to yield £300,000 a year. Fifteen deputies elected for Tihrán, including Husayn-qull Khān *Nawwāb*, *San'i'ud-Dawla*, 'Abdū'l-Husayn Khān of Kāshān entitled *Wahidū'l-Mulk*, and Taqī-zāda.

Aug. 22, 1909. Messrs Alan Wright and James, of the Imperial Bank of Persia, kidnapped by brigands near Kirmān, but released on Aug. 26.

Aug. 29, 1909. The notorious brigand Rahīm Khān was captured by the Russians, but released again by them on Sept. 18, *q.v.*

Aug. 31, 1909. General amnesty proclaimed by Persian Government. The ex-Shāh appeals to the Tsar for support. The Russian

Legation opposes the dismissal of M. Smirnoff, the young Sháh's tutor. Fight between Kurds and Russians at Urmiya.

Sept. 1, 1909. *Amir Bahádur Jang*, *Sa'du'd-Dawla* and *Mushiru's-Saltana* are exiled and excluded from the amnesty. Growing distrust of the *Sipahdár*. National volunteers placed under command of Taqí-záda's cousin 'Alí Muḥammad Khán (afterwards assassinated on Aug. 2, 1910, *q.v.*).

Sept. 7, 1909. Signature by Persian, Russian and British representatives of the Protocol regulating the ex-Sháh's place of banishment, future conduct and pension (finally fixed at 100,000 *túmán* or £16,666 a year). French expert called in to value Crown Jewels.

Sept. 9, 1909. Departure of ex-Sháh Muḥammad 'Alí from Tíhrán.

Sept. 13, 1909. The young Sháh holds a *darbár* to celebrate his twelfth birthday. The Directory (*Hay'at-i-Mudíra*) is increased from 20 to 40 members.

Sept. 15, 1909. Russo-Persian "incident" at Píla-suwár (Belya-suvarski).

Sept. 18, 1909. Raḥím Khán released by the Russians on payment of £T.20 000 and 180 camels.

Sept. 23, 1909. Motor-car service established between Julfa on the Araxes and Tabriz.

Sept. 24, 1909. Arrival of the new Russian Minister, M. Poklevski-Koziell, at Tíhrán.

Sept. 26, 1909. The *Zillu's-Sultán* is allowed to return to Europe on payment of 100,000 *túmán* (£16,666) and the promise to pay double this sum within four months. 'Alí's-Saltana, formerly Persian Minister in London, is made Foreign Minister.

Sept. 28, 1909. The ex-Sháh reaches Rasht. The *Sipahdár* is made Premier.

Oct. 5, 1909. The ex-Sháh reaches Odessa, his place of exile.

Oct. 16, 1909. One battery and two companies of Russian troops withdrawn from Tabriz. Three days later General Znarsky, who was in command of this force, and one thousand Russian troops were stated to have been withdrawn from Tabriz.

Oct. 19, 1909. Ardabíl threatened by Raḥím Khán.

Oct. 26, 1909. The Persian Government proposes to send an expedition of 100 Persian Cossacks, 300 infantry and 2 guns to Ardabíl.

Oct. 28, 1909. The *Náṣiru'l-Mulk* (actually the Regent) returns from Europe to Tíhrán.

Nov. 1, 1909. Announcement that the Russian force at Qazwín will be reduced to 50 men, and that 450 more will be distributed between Rasht and Anzál.

Nov. 2, 1909. Reported fall of Ardabíl. Fresh troops sent from Russia.

Nov. 5, 1909. A second detachment of Russian troops sent to Ardabil.

Nov. 7, 1909. Withdrawal of Russian force from Qazwin postponed. The *Times* praises the Persian relief-force destined for Ardabil, on which some £25,000 had been expended, and regrets that Russia will not give them the chance of restoring order there by themselves.

Nov. 9, 1909. Rahim Khān threatens to march on Tihirān, destroy the Constitution, and restore the ex-Shāh.

Nov. 15, 1909. Opening of the Second National Assembly under the presidency of the *Mutashshirū'd-Dawla*, with the *Mumtazu'd-Dawla* and Sayyid Nasru'llāh as Vice-presidents.

Nov. 16, 1909. Rahim Khān retires from Ardabil. Two thousand more Russian troops embark at Bākū for Persia.

Nov. 23, 1909. The Persian Government protests against the high-handed action of the Russians at Ardabil.

Nov. 24, 1909. 'Azudu'l-Mulk confirmed in Regency. M. Passek, Russian Consul at Bushire, attacked by brigands near Shirāz. The Persian Government apologizes for this occurrence on Dec. 1.

Nov. 26, 1909. Rashidu'l-Mulk made Governor of Ardabil.

Dec. 7, 1909. The Persian Government agrees in principle to a foreign (i.e. Anglo-Russian) loan and to the employment of foreign advisers, but objects to Russian officers in the Gendarmerie.

Dec. 13, 1909. The Persian Government applies to England and Russia for a loan of £500,000. (See Feb. 16, 1910, *infra*.)

Dec. 31, 1909. The Persian expedition under Yeprem Khān the Armenian obtains a victory over Rahim Khān.

## 1910

Jan. 20, 1910. Three more detachments of Russian troops sent to Ahar.

Jan. 24, 1910. Rahim Khān, hard pressed by the Persian Government troops, has no way of escape save into Russian territory. On Feb. 4 he crosses the Russian frontier unhindered, and on Feb. 6 reaches Elizavetpol. The Persian Government demands his extradition in conformity with the Treaty of Turkmanchāy, but its request is ignored by Russia.

Jan. 27, 1910. *Mawaggaru's-Saltana* is hanged.

Feb. 4, 1910. 'Alā'u's-Saltana resigns the position of Foreign Minister.

Feb. 11, 1910. The people of Varāmīn, incited by Shaykh Maḥmūd, a Russian *protégé*, hoist Russian flags over their houses.

Feb. 16, 1910. The Russian and British Ministers formally communicate to *Thiqatu'l-Mulk*, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, the conditions demanded by them for a loan of £400,000. These include "privileged rights" in their respective "Spheres of Influence" to



appoint military instructors and build railways. (See Dec. 13, 1909, *supra*.)

Feb. 20, 1910. Persian merchants beg their Government not to accept the proposed loan on the conditions indicated above.

Feb. 28, 1910. Russo-Persian dispute at Langarūd as to the fishery concession (*Shildt*) in the Caspian provinces granted to the Russian Lianosoff (or Lianazoff) in Safar, A.H. 1324 (= April, 1906), for a period of twenty years. Persia has to give way on March 5.

March 1, 1910. The *Sipahdār* and *Sardār-i-As'ad* tender their resignation on account of the continued presence of Russian troops on Persian soil. (See under April 20, 1910, *infra*.)

March 16, 1910. A French expert, M. Falconburg, arrives in Tih-rān to value the Crown Jewels, at a fee of £1000 for 8 days' work, but this period proving insufficient it was afterwards extended. Rumours of a French loan to Persia. The Persian New Year's Day (*Navrīs*) was not observed, as a sign of mourning for the continued presence of foreign troops on Persian soil.

March 17, 1910. M. Bizot, the French financial adviser, left Tih-rān on three months' leave of absence.

March 20, 1910. *Mu'dwinu'd-Dawla* is appointed Foreign Minister. Sattār Khān and Bāqir Khān leave Tabriz under Russian pressure and come to Tih-rān.

March 27, 1910. Some 400 fresh Russian soldiers sent to Tabriz.

March 30, 1910. Herr R.-Saïd-Ruete, representing the *Deutsche Bank*, in Tih-rān. He left for Berlin on May 17.

April 8, 1910. Expiry of Persia's undertaking to Russia (in the Convention of 1900) not to build railways.

April 10, 1910. Persia rejects the proposed Anglo-Russian loan on account of the dangerous political conditions attached to it. The total value of the Persian Crown Jewels was stated to be £750,000, but this was mere rumour, for the actual estimate of M. Falconburg was, I believe, only known to two representatives of Persia, one of whom, Petros Andreassian, the Armenian, was subsequently hanged by the Russians at Tabriz in Jan. 1912. The other, from whom I learned these particulars, was one of my oldest Persian friends, who held many high positions in the Government, and whose word I trust implicitly.

April 17, 1910. Mr Bill, a member of the Indian Civil Service, who had been acting as British Consul at Shirāz, and who vehemently advocated British occupation of the Southern provinces, was attacked at Yazdikhwāst. Three days later he reached Isfahān safely. It subsequently transpired that Mr Bill had taken the initiative in the conflict.

April 20, 1910. The *Sipahdār* and *Sardār-i-As'ad* consent to resume office (see under March 1, 1910, *supra*) provided the *Sani'u'd-Dawla*, "who is not a *persona grata* with the Legislators," is excluded. The Cabinet crisis ends on May 1.

May 6, 1910. Death of King Edward the Seventh. Reported



confederation of tribes in South Persia to maintain Persian independence.

May 25, 1910. Rumours of a projected German loan to Persia.

May 27, 1910. Violent scene in the National Assembly on account of the suppression of the daily paper *Sharq*.

May 29, 1910. Zanjan attacked by Darab Mirza, a Persian prince who had become naturalized as a Russian subject and held a commission in the Labinsky Cossack regiment at this time occupying Qazwin. He obtained leave of absence to go to Russia, but instead rallied round him disaffected persons, obtained for them "letters of protection" (*ta'min-nama*) signed by the Russian Colonel Rakuz, and with their aid endeavoured to overthrow the Constitutional Government at Zanjan. The Persian Government send a small force against him commanded by 'Ali Khan; the Russians also sent a force of Cossacks, which, while returning to Qazwin with Darab Mirza, fell in and fought with the Persian force and killed its leader 'Ali Khan. The incident was a typical and disgraceful example of Russian intrigue, but both in the Blue Book for this period and in the debate in the House of Commons on July 1, 1910, its real nature (clearly exposed in original documents in my possession) was concealed. Internal loan of £3,000,000 authorized by Persian Government. Persian women sell their jewels to provide money for the State.

June 4, 1910. Kishan captured by the outlaw Na'ib Husayn.

June 7, 1910. Persian Government demands full statement of its debts to Russia.

June 12, 1910. Sir Charles (now Lord) Hardinge appointed Viceroy of India, and Sir Arthur Nicholson, British Ambassador at St Petersburg, appointed to succeed him as Permanent Under-Secretary at the British Foreign Office. Both appointments warmly approved by Russia, whose approval is reported by the *Times*.

June 13, 1910. Announcement that no loan will be made by Germany to Persia. Russia objects to the exemption from taxation of silver destined for the Persian Mint.

June (middle), 1910. Aggressive actions of the Russians at Tabriz, including arrest of Persian police, invasion of *Thiqat-i-Islam's* house in search of Russian deserter, and demand for dismissal of *Mukhbir's* *Saltana* the Governor.—Arrival at Tihiran of Mr W. A. Moore in connection with the projected Seligmann loan to Persia.

July 1, 1910. Triumphant entry into Tihiran of Yeprem Khan and his troops after suppressing the marauding tribesmen who threatened Ardabil.

July 3, 1910. Heated debate in the *Majlis* between Taqi-zada and his party (the Democrats) and the Ecclesiastical party. Taqi-zada is "given permission to retire" for three months. He left Tihiran on July 30.

July 4, 1910. *Zakari'ul-Mulk* becomes President of the *Majlis*.

July 15, 1910. Russian bombardment of a Persian village on the Caspian shore near Gyumush-tepé.—Assassination at Tihrán of Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Bahbaháni.

July 16, 1910. Attempted boycott of Russian goods by Persians.

July 26, 1910. New Cabinet formed, comprising *Mustawfí'l-Mamálík* (Premier), *Farman-farmá* (Interior), Husayn-qulí Khán *Nawwáb* (Foreign Affairs), *Qizodmu's-Saltana* (War), *Dabíru'l-Mulk* (Justice), Asadu'lláh Mirzá (Post Office and Telegraphs), and *Hakimu'l-Mulk* (Finance).

Aug. 2, 1910. Assassination by Nawrúzoff, Karim and Mahdí-qulí of 'Ali Muhammad Khán, a close friend of Taqí-záda's, and Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Khán, in retaliation, as it was alleged, for Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh Bahbaháni's murder on July 15. (See Aug. 17, *infra*.)

Aug. 3, 1910. State of siege proclaimed in Tihrán for three months.

Aug. 4, 1910. National Volunteers (*fidd'ís*) ordered to surrender their arms within 48 hours.

Aug. 5, 1910. Manifesto issued by the *Sipahdár*, *Sardár-i As'ad*, *Samídmu's-Saltana*, Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán declaring that they will sink all personal aims and work together for the good of the country. *Fidd'ís* surrendering arms in return for money payments.

Aug. 7, 1910. Severe fighting took place at the Atábak's Park between *Fidd'ís* who refused to surrender their arms and the Government troops. The former were eventually overcome, with a loss of 30 killed and 300 prisoners. *Mu'izzu's-Sultán*, who took so prominent a part in the Rasht insurrection, escaped. Both Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán were wounded. Mediation was attempted by the German Minister, Baron Quadt, and the Turkish Ambassador, but was ineffectual.

Aug. 10, 1910. *Zarghámu's-Saltana* and his Bakhtiyári followers were disarmed at Sháh 'Abdu'l-'Azím.

Aug. 14, 1910. The *Istíqlál-i-Irán* ("Independence of Persia") is the only paper appearing in Tihrán since the Coup d'État. Two thousand *túmdans* reward (£400) is offered for such information as may lead to the arrest of Sayyid 'Abdu'lláh's murderers. Proposals for a strong army and the appointment of foreign advisers.

Aug. 17, 1910. Russia obliges the Persian Government to surrender to them Nawrúzoff of Nakhjuwan, a Russian subject suspected of having taken part in the assassination of 'Ali Muhammad Khán. (See Aug. 2, *supra*.)

Aug. 18, 1910. Sir George Barclay returns from leave to Tihrán. Pensions are accorded by the Persian Government to Sattár Khán and Báqir Khán.

Aug. 19, 1910. Persian Foreign Minister (Husayn-qulí Khán) makes a fresh appeal to Russia to withdraw her troops from Persia.

Aug. 21, 1910. Russia protests against "Turkish violations of Persian territory."

Aug. 25, 1910. Russia demands concessions as the price of the withdrawal of her troops from Persia. Even the *Times* (Sept. 24, 1910) protests against such a demand. (See Oct. 25, *infra*.)

Sept. 6, 1910. The *Majlis* decides to appoint American advisers in preference to French.

Sept. 12, 1910. Revolt in Mazandarán headed by *Rashidu's-Sultân*, *Amir-i-Mukarram* and Isma'il Khân. (See Oct. 12, *infra*.)

Sept. 18, 1910. The *Farmân-farmâ* resigns the Ministry of the Interior.

Sept. 22, 1910. Death of the Regent, the aged '*Azadu'l-Mulk*.'

Sept. 23, 1910. Mirzâ Abu'l-Qâsim Khân *Nâsirû'l-Mulk* elected Regent by 40 votes as against 29 votes given to the rival candidate *Mustawfi'l-Mamâlik*.

Sept. 25, 1910. Persian Government troops worsted in an affray with Shâhseven tribesmen.

Sept. 28, 1910. Russian Government proposes to send M. Izvolsky, who has ceased to be Minister for Foreign Affairs, as Ambassador to Paris. A violent attack on him appeared in the *Novoe Vremya* about Oct. 4.

Oct. 9, 1910. Disturbances in South Persia. Yazdikhwâst raided by Kûhgaylî tribesmen. '*Aynu'd-Dawla*' nominated Governor of Fârs.

Oct. 12, 1910. *Rashidu's-Sultân* reported as overcome by Government troops and Ardâbil tranquil. Private loans to Persian Government obstructed by Russian and British Governments.

Oct. 15, 1910. Russia prevents the Persian Crown Jewels being pawned, and announces that her troops at Qazwin shall not be withdrawn, but shall go into winter quarters. "Restiveness of English banking and commercial circles" at Russia's attitude.

Oct. 16, 1910. British Note (widely described as "Ultimatum") to Persia on the disturbed condition of South Persia and interruption of the traffic on the Southern roads.

Oct. 17, 1910. Fighting with Nâ'ib Husayn at Kâshân. British "Ultimatum" published at Tihân. M. Pokhitanoff appointed Russian Consul at Tihân. (He took up his appointment on Dec. 27, 1910, the day on which Husayn-qulî Khân resigned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.)

Oct. 18-19, 1910. The British "Ultimatum" arouses so much excitement and indignation in various quarters, especially in Germany, Turkey and India, that the British Foreign Office issues a *communiqué* minimizing its importance, while the Government of India disclaims all responsibility for the measures proposed in it.

Oct. 20, 1910. Turkish alarm at British "Ultimatum," which is described in the Vienna Press as "the *début* of Sir Arthur Nicholson, an energetic and unscrupulous politician." The German papers say that "the meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser [at Potsdam] will greatly



influence the Persian situation." (See under Nov. 5, *infra*.) Concentration of Turkish troops on Persian frontier. Lord Hardinge's farewell speech on the eve of his departure for India.

Oct. 22, 1910. Persian reply to British Note presented. Persia asks for Italian military instructors. (These were refused on Dec. 29. On Jan. 3, 1911, Sweden consented to lend officers for this purpose.) Treasonable correspondence between Shaykh Mahmūd of Varāmīn, in refuge at the Russian Legation, and *Rashidu's-Sultān*, in rebellion in Māzandarān, intercepted by the Persian Government.

Oct. 23, 1910. Great protest meeting of Turks and Persians at Constantinople, where Russia and England and their policy towards Persia are violently attacked. On Oct. 27 Mr FitzMaurice, First Dragoman of the British Embassy at Constantinople, protests to Tal'at Bey against the language used on this occasion.

Oct. 25, 1910. Persia offers the concessions demanded by Russia in return for the immediate withdrawal of her troops from Persian soil. (See Aug. 25, *supra*.)

Oct. 28, 1910. Protest of Peace Association in London against the British "Ultimatum." British Consols fall below 80, partly in consequence of the Persian imbroglio.

Oct. 29, 1910. The Persian Government, having intercepted correspondence between the ex-Shāh and the Turkmāns proving that he was inciting them to espouse his cause, proposes to the Legations to stop his pension in accordance with Article 11 of the Protocol of Sept. 7, 1909. The Legations forbid this (apparently without condescending to examine the evidence), and send *ghulams* to "shadow" Husayn-qulī Khān, the Persian Foreign Minister, until the ex-Shāh's allowance is paid, which is done, under protest, two days later. The Persian Minister in London formally protests against this insult to Husayn-qulī Khān (which is feebly defended by Sir Edward Grey)<sup>1</sup> on Nov. 4.

Nov. 5, 1910. Meeting at Potsdam between the Tsar and the Kaiser. The text of the Agreement then arrived at was published in England on Jan. 5, 1911. Great disquietude is shown by the French at Russo-German relations, especially *à propos* of Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech of Dec. 11 on this subject.

Nov. 8, 1910. The ex-Shāh, having surreptitiously left Odessa, the place of his banishment, without (as it was pretended) the knowledge of the Russian Government, arrived at Vienna. M. Sazonoff, the new Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, returned to St Petersburg from Berlin.

Nov. 10, 1910. Proposals for Trans-Persian railway mooted.

Nov. 13, 1910. Resignation of Yeprem Khān. Seligmann loan to Persia finally stopped by Russia and England about this date.

Nov. 16, 1910. M. Poklevski Kozell, the Russian Minister at Tihvān, demands a formal apology from Husayn-qulī Khān *Natavāb*, the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, for alleged insults offered to Aqā Hasan, the Russian Consular Agent at Kāshān.



*Nov. 17, 1910.* British reply to Persian Note of Oct. 22. Five hundred more Russian troops reach Julfa on the Araxes en route for Salmas.

*Nov. 22, 1910.* Dignified appeal issued by *Mujtahids* of Najaf. Protest of Calcutta Persian colony against British Note.

*Dec. 2, 1910.* M. Sazonoff made Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, with M. Neratoff as Assistant.

*Dec. 8, 1910.* Proposed loan of £1,250,000 at 5%, issued by Imperial Bank of Persia at 87½ opposed by *Majlis*.—Sir George Buchanan, the new Ambassador of Great Britain to Russia, reaches St Petersburg.

*Dec. 23, 1910.* The ex-Shah at Rome.

*Dec. 27, 1910.* Resignation of Husayn-quli Khan *Nawwab* of the Persian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*Dec. 28, 1910.* Persian reply to British Note of Nov. 17. The All-India Muslim League protests against British policy in Persia. The new Regent, *Nasiru'l-Mulk*, who had been expected in Persia since Oct. 19, is still at Vienna and refuses to proceed.

*Dec. 29, 1910.* Italy refuses to lend officers for the training and organization of the Persian Gendarmerie. Sweden is approached.

## 1911

*Jan. 3, 1911.* *Muhtashamu's-Saltana* made Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sweden consents to lend officers for Gendarmerie.

*Jan. 6, 1911.* The ex-Shah, with *Amir Bahadur Jang*, arrived at Berlin from Brussels, having visited Meran, Rome, Nice, Paris and Vienna, and held consultations and conversations with his exiled partisans in those places.

*Jan. 12, 1911.* Sir Arthur Nicholson is stated to have told the Turkish Ambassador in London that "Turkish policy in Persia was a menace to England."

*Jan. 16, 1911.* *Nasiru'l-Mulk*, the Regent, left Vienna for Persia.

*Jan. 17, 1911.* Rumoured undertaking of Turkey to help Persia. Conciliatory attitude of Persia towards Russia, and talk of withdrawal of Russian troops from Qazwin.

*Jan. 18, 1911.* Manifesto of Persian *Mujtahids* at Najaf, and boycott of Russian goods advocated by them.

*Jan. 23, 1911.* *Nasiru'l-Mulk*, the Regent, reaches Bakü.—Rahim Khan returns to Tabriz from Russia.

*Jan. 24, 1911.* American financial experts promised to Persia.

*Jan. 29, 1911.* *Nasiru'l-Mulk* reaches Rasht, but is delayed there by a snow-storm.

*Feb. 1, 1911.* The *Mu'tamad-i-Khaqan*, Governor of Isfahan, and his cousin 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan are shot by 'Abbás, an ex-officer of

police, the former being severely wounded, the latter killed. 'Abbās takes refuge with the Russian Consul, M. Bogozhavlenski, who refuses to give him up. (See under May 19, *infra*.)

*Feb. 2, 1911.* Five American finance experts appointed to serve the Persian Government at salaries ranging from £600 to £2000 a year. (See under May 11, *infra*.)

*Feb. 6, 1911.* *Sanī' u'd-Dawla*, the Persian Minister of Finance, shot dead by a Georgian named Ivan and two confederates. The assassins are arrested after one of them and four of the Persian Police have been wounded in the struggle. The Russian Legation demands and obtains the surrender of the assassins, who are Russian subjects. Anti-Russian feeling strongly excited. (See under May 9, *infra*.)

*Feb. 8, 1911.* *Nāṣirū'l-Mulk*, the Regent, arrives in Tih-rān.

*Feb. 11, 1911.* M. Bogozhavlenski, the Russian Consul at Isfahān, is found drowned in a tank in the Consulate garden. It was supposed to be a case of suicide.

*Feb. 12, 1911.* Russians at Ardabil undertake primitive expedition against Galish tribesmen.

*Feb. 13, 1911.* *Nāṣirū'l-Mulk*, the Regent, makes a strong speech to the Deputies, demanding their loyal support, which they promise him.

*Feb. 15-22, 1911.* Cossacks sack the village of Varmīnī near Astārā and kill some fifty persons, including women and children. An additional Russian battalion sent from Bākil, of whom 600 had already reached Astārā.

*Feb. 20, 1911.* Assassins of *Sanī' u'd-Dawla* condemned by Russian Government to fourteen years' banishment to Siberia.

*Feb. 23, 1911.* The *Sipahdār* is entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. Brawl in Tih-rān between two parties of armed men, believed to be Russian subjects. Two, supposed to be relations of one of *Sanī' u'd-Dawla's* assassins, are killed.

*Feb. 28, 1911.* 'Alī Beg, a young Reactionary who was notorious in connection with the Coup d'Etat of June 23, 1908, shot himself in the Square Montholon, Paris, in consequence of a quarrel with his mistress.

*March 2, 1911.* Messrs Kay and Haycock robbed near Isfahān.

*March 4, 1911.* The Regent's address to the Persian Nation on the occasion of his taking the oath.

*March 8, 1911.* New Cabinet formed, consisting of the *Sipahdār* (War), *Muhtashamū's-Saltāna* (Foreign Affairs), *Mustashārū'd-Dawla* (Interior), *'Alā'u's-Saltāna* (Education), *Mu'dawinnū'd-Dawla* (Commerce), *Mumtāzū'd-Dawla* (Finance), *Mushirū'd-Dawla* (Justice).—Disarmament of persons not authorized to bear arms by Yeprem Khān.

*March 13-15, 1911.* Qazwin is evacuated by the bulk of Russian troops stationed there, except 80 Cossacks.

*'April 6, 1911.* British Consulate at Kirmānshāh attacked by robbers.—Debate in *Majlis* on powers demanded by Cabinet.

*April 12, 1911.* Improved state of Shiráz roads under *Nizâmû's-Saltânâ's* government of Fârs.

*April 17, 1911.* Arrest of *Qiwâmîs* by *Nizâmû's-Saltânâ* at Shiráz. (See under May 8, *infra*.)

*April 24, 1911.* Proposed Persian loan of £1,250,000 discussed in *Majlis*; defeated on April 27, finally passed on May 2.

*April 27, 1911.* Proposed British railway from the Persian Gulf to Khurramâbâd.

*May 8, 1911.* *Nâsirû'd-Dawla*, one of the *Qiwâmîs*, is murdered.

*May 9, 1911.* Alleged suicide of one of *Sant'u'd-Dawla's* assassins on the Caspian steamer carrying him to Russia.

*May 11, 1911.* Mr W. Morgan Shuster and the other American Financial Advisers reach Anzali.

*May 15, 1911.* Mr Kingston, a representative of Messrs Burroughs and Welcome, is robbed near Kâshân.

*May 18, 1911.* Hostile demonstrations before the British Consulate at Shiráz.

*May 19, 1911.* 'Abbâs, the assassin who attempted to kill the *Mu'tamad-i-Khâqân* and succeeded in killing his cousin at Isfahân on Feb. 1, is found guilty and deported to Russia.—The Russian Legation demands the deportation of Amin Rasûl-zâda, the editor of the important Persian daily *Iran-i-Naw*.

*May 30, 1911.* It is proposed in the *Majlis* and unanimously agreed on June 13 to invest Mr W. Morgan Shuster, the new American Treasurer-General, with very extensive powers. The *Sardâr-i-Arâd* leaves Tih-rân for Europe.

*June 15, 1911.* The *Sipâhdâr* leaves Tih-rân in a huff, bidding his coachman drive "to Wirangistân"; but is induced to return on July 4.

*July 9, 1911.* The command of the new Treasury Gendarmerie which it is proposed to organize is offered to Captain C. B. Stokes, whose appointment as Military Attaché to the British Legation at Tih-rân is on the point of expiring. Praise of this move by Mr W. A. Moore, who has now become *Times* correspondent in the Persian capital.

*July 16, 1911.* The ex-Shâh's brother *Sâdrû'd-Dawla* seizes Hamâdân and proclaims the ex-Shâh Muḥammad 'Alî as king.

*July 19, 1911.* The ex-Shâh, accompanied by some of his followers, re-appears in Persia, having passed through Russia, as it is alleged, with a false beard and under a false name, unknown to the Russian Government, carrying with him a quantity of arms and ammunition, labelled "Mineral Waters," and accompanied by a Russian officer named Khâtayeff, specially attached to him.—Russia objects to Captain Stokes's appointment.

*July 19-21, 1911.* The Persian Government takes energetic steps to deal with the ex-Shâh's raid, and protests to the Russian and British Legations at this flagrant violation of the Protocol of Sept. 7, 1909.



The Legations reply on Aug. 2 to the effect that it is no concern of theirs, but is a matter affecting Persia only.

July 25, 1911. The *Sipahdār* is removed from the Cabinet, and retires to Zarganda, the village in which is situated the Russian Legation. Mr Morgan Shuster advises the Persian Government as to steps to be taken against the ex-Shāh.

July 27, 1911. The Russian Consul at Tabriz, accompanied by 300 Russian troops and Cossacks, forcibly releases *Rashidū'l-Mulk*, the former Governor of Ardabil, imprisoned on suspicion of treason, from the custody of the Deputy-Governor of Tabriz, and conveys him to the Russian Consulate.—Shāhrūd is looted by the ex-Shāh's Turkman allies.

July 28, 1911. The captain and mate of the Russian steamer *Christophoros* are dismissed from their command for communicating to the Press the fact that the ex-Shāh crossed the Caspian to Persia in their vessel.

July 29, 1911. Russia again protests against Captain Stokes's appointment, which is still warmly supported by M. Jean Herbert of *l'Action* and *le Sūcle* (who had been in Persia for some months to study the situation) in a series of four telegrams, despatched on July 29–Aug. 4, intended for publication in the British Press<sup>2</sup>, but refused by the chief agencies on grounds of political expediency.—The *Majlis* voted the acceptance of the contract with Capt. C. B. Stokes by 63 votes out of 72, and decided by 59 votes out of 70 to put a price of 100,000 *tūmans* on the ex-Shāh's head and 25,000 *tūmans* each on the heads of his brothers *Shu'd-d'ī-Saltāna* and *Salārū'd-Dawla*.

July 31, 1911. Russia demands that the Customs' receipts be paid to M. Mornard and not to Mr Shuster, between whom an acute conflict arises. The French and Italian Legations support Russia, and the German Legation is also said to be opposed to Mr Shuster, who is violently and coarsely attacked by the *Novoe Vremya*, which declares (Aug. 4) that, "in the absence of a miracle, the ex-Shāh will be at Tihiran in five days."

Aug. 4, 1911. The *Times* says that "neither the British nor the Indian Government has any power to prevent Captain Stokes accepting the appointment" offered him by the Persian Government.—British Note advising the Persian Government not to persist in the appointment.—Alleged agreement between the Russian Government and the ex-Shāh whereby the latter consents, in case of success, to cede to Russia Azarbaijān and the Persian shore of the Caspian Sea.

Aug. 9, 1911. The Persia Committee revived in London.

Aug. 7–12, 1911. Renewed violent attack by the *Novoe Vremya* on "Stokes and Company," accompanied by expressions of surprise at the "apparent helplessness" of the British Foreign Office.

Aug. 12, 1911. Defeat of ex-Shāh's forces by Bakhtiyāris at Firiz-kūka and death of *Rashidū'l-Mulk*.

<sup>2</sup> Published in the *Manchester Guardian* of Aug. 8, 1911.



Aug. 21, 1911. The British Foreign Office informs the Persian Legation that Captain Stokes's resignation from the Indian Army will not be accepted.

Aug. 22, 1911. Defeat of ex-Shah's army at Sawad-küh.

Aug. 31, 1911. Third victory of Persian Government troops at Damawand.—Yeprem Khán ill.—Loyalty of *Ziyâ'ul-Mulk* and *Amir-i-Mufakkhkhum* suspected.

Sept. 5-6, 1911. *Arshadû'd-Dawla*, the ex-Shah's best and bravest General, is captured and shot.

Sept. 7, 1911. The ex-Shah takes refuge on a Russian vessel on the Caspian Sea.

Sept. 11, 1911. Rahim Khán is put to death at Tabriz by order of the *Anjuman* or Provincial Assembly. An understanding is arrived at between Mr Shuster and M. Mornard.

Sept. 12, 1911. The ex-Shah arrives, a fugitive, at Gyumush-tepe with seven of his followers.

Sept. 18, 1911. Reported destruction of 120 Turkmans forming part of *Arshadû'd-Dawla's* army at Shâhrûd.

Sept. 20, 1911. Seven additional Swedish officers appointed to the Persian Gendarmerie. Mr New's appointment as Persian Treasury officer cancelled by the *Majlis* in consequence of the British Government's objection to the appointment of Captain Stokes, but finally ratified at Mr Shuster's request on Oct. 4.

Sept. 22, 1911. Nâ'ib Husayn occupies Kâshân.

Sept. 25, 1911. *Sâldrû'd-Dawla* defeated by Persian Government troops at Sâwa, and again two days later at Nawbarân.

Sept. 27, 1911. Italian Ultimatum to Turkey. (It was stated in the *Nation*, with a great show of probability, that Italy was acting in collusion with Russia, Russia's object being to involve the Turks in a war which would prevent them from coming to Persia's aid or opposing the projected Russian invasion of N.W. Persia.)

Oct. 3, 1911. Decision of Indian Government to send Indian troops to S. Persia.

Oct. 6, 1911. Hamadân taken by Persian Government troops and *Sâldrû'd-Dawla* put to flight.

Oct. 7, 1911. Conciliatory attitude of Persian Government towards Russia.

Oct. 9, 1911. The property of the ex-Shah's brother *Shu'dû's-Saltana* being confiscated by the Persian Government, and Treasury Gendarmes placed in possession by order of Mr Morgan Shuster the Treasurer-General, the Russian Consul M. Pokhitanoff sends a superior force of Cossacks to expel them. Next day a large force of Gendarmes expels the Cossacks and again takes possession. Thereupon M. Pokhitanoff comes there in person, insults the Gendarmes, and does his best to provoke an "incident."

Oct. 16, 1911. Nā'ib Husayn expelled from Kāshān. Miss Ross robbed near Shirāz.

Oct. 17, 1911. Russia definitely refuses to withdraw her objection to the appointment of Captain Stokes. Capture of ex-Shāh's diary.

Oct. 18, 1911. *Times* attacks Mr Shuster in a leader. The ex-Shāh reaches 'Ishqābād (Askabad) in Russian territory.

Oct. 19, 1911. Persian Government protests against the sending of Indian troops to South Persia.

Oct. 20, 1911. Mr Shuster telegraphs to the *Times* that he is sending a reply to their leader of Oct. 18.

Oct. 22, 1911. Russia objects to the appointment of 20 additional Swedish officers.

Oct. 23-27, 1911. Italian massacre of 4000 Arabs, including women and children, at Tripoli.

Oct. 24, 1911. The British Government notifies Persia of the sailing of the Indian troops, of whom the first detachment land at Bushire on Oct. 27. On the same day 200 additional Russian troops are landed at Anzali, and it is stated that 1700 more will follow, while 1900 will advance from Julfā to Tabriz.

Oct. 29, 1911. The ex-Shāh is reported as having returned from 'Ishqābād to Gyumush-tepé.

Nov. 5, 1911. First Russian Ultimatum, demanding an apology from the Persian Government for alleged insult to the Russian Consul, M. Pokhitanoff, on Oct. 9. The *Times* of this date censures Pokhitanoff's conduct.

Nov. 7, 1911. The Swedish Government is reported to have yielded to Russia's objection of Oct. 22 to the lending of more Swedish officers to the Persian Government. (But see under Nov. 17 *infra*.)

Nov. 9, 1911. Mr Morgan Shuster's reply of Oct. 20 to the *Times* leader of Oct. 18 is published in the *Times*.

Nov. 11, 1911. Captain Stokes is ordered by the British Government to return to India. Two more squadrons of Central Indian horse arrive at Bushire.

Nov. 12, 1911. Russian Note to Persian Government repeating the demand for an apology of Nov. 5.

Nov. 13, 1911. The first two squadrons of Indian troops reach Shirāz.

Nov. 15, 1911. Lord Curzon's sympathetic and eloquent speech at the Persia Society's Dinner in London.—Russian troops are ready to enter Persia.

Nov. 16, 1911. The Viceroy of the Caucasus is instructed to send 4000 more Russian troops into Persia. At Malāyir 3000 Persian Government troops are held in readiness to act against *Sādrūd-Dawla*.

Nov. 17, 1911. Seven more Swedish officers are selected for service

in Persia.—Violence of the *Novoe Vremya* against Mr Shuster.—Violent attack by the *Outlook* (which, having been strongly pro-Russian, executed an amazing *volta face* on Nov. 11) on Sir Edward Grey, whom it describes as "the painted lath at the Foreign Office."

Nov. 19, 1911. Letter from Mr Shuster in the *New York Sun* denouncing Sir George Barclay's duplicity.—Defeat of *Saddar-i-Dawla*, with loss of 500 men, at Burnjird.—Russia breaks off diplomatic relations with Persia, who appeals to England for mediation.

Nov. 20, 1911. Persia is given to understand by the British Minister that if she submits to the Ultimatum the Russian troops will not advance.

Nov. 23, 1911. The Treasury Gendarmes are withdrawn from the house of *Shu'd'u's-Saltana*, the Persian Foreign Minister goes to the Russian Legation and offers an apology, and Persia thus complies with the terms of the First Russian Ultimatum. According to the *Times*, "Sir George Barclay assisted the reconciliation by convincing the Persians that the Russian troops would be withdrawn if an acceptable apology was tendered." The number of Russian troops in Persia is now estimated at 12,000. Russian Note to the Powers. *Wuthuq'u'd-Dawla*, Foreign Minister; *Samidmu's-Saltana*, Premier; *Mushiri'd-Dawla*, Education; *Mu'azidi's-Saltana*, Posts and Telegraphs. To these were subsequently added *Sardar-i-Muhtasham*, War; *Mustashari's-Saltana*, Justice; and *Zak'd'u'l-Mulk*, Finance.—Three more battalions of Russian troops disembark at Anzali.

Nov. 25, 1911. High-handed behaviour of Russian Consul at Rasht.—Russian Legation accuses Mr Shuster of circulating Persian translation of his letter to the *Times*. Mr Shuster (Nov. 28) disclaims all responsibility for this.

Nov. 27, 1911. Debate in Commons and (Nov. 28) in Lords on Persian Question. The *Novoe Vremya* foreshadows fresh demands on Russia's part.

Nov. 29, 1911. Second Russian Ultimatum presented to Persian Government.

Nov. 30, 1911. Second Ultimatum rejected. Bazaars closed, great excitement, offers of help to Persia from Armenian *Dashnaktsiyan*. Plots against Mr Shuster's life discovered.

Dec. 1, 1911. Complaints from Tabriz that Russia is openly supporting the Reactionary *Samad Khan Shuj'i'd-Dawla*.—Russian troops ordered to advance.

Dec. 2, 1911. Assassination of *'Ald'u'd-Dawla*, who is suspected of intriguing with the *Sipahdarr* to effect restoration of ex-Shah. Anti-Russian demonstrations.—*Wuthuq'u'd-Dawla* resigns the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.—Bakhtiari's said to have been "squared" by Russia.

Dec. 3, 1911. Russian troops advancing on Tihiran.—Yeprem Khan is said to favour armed resistance. Popular demonstrations and processions crying "*Marg ya Istiqdl!*" ("Death or Independence!"). Mr Shuster releases Captain Stokes from his engagement and cancels the engagements of Messrs Lecoffre, Haycock and Schindler. The *Sardar*



*i-As'ad*, returning from Europe, lands at Rasht, where the Russians disarm the local militia and seize the telegraph.

Dec. 4-6, 1911. Telegrams of protest against Russia's action from Mass Meeting at Tabriz, from the President of the *Majlis*, *Mu'taman-i-Mulk*, from the Persian women (addressed to the Women's Suffrage Societies), and from the Persia Defence Society, Calcutta. Popular feeling runs high against England, who is considered to have betrayed the Persians.—M. Sazonoff in Paris.—*Wuthûqî'd-Dawla* resumes office (Dec. 5) of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dec. 7, 1911. Lord Curzon's eloquent speech on Persia in House of Lords. Lord Morley's reply.—Russia's aggressions in Mongolia and attempts to obtain from Turkey the opening of the Dardanelles. Dispute between the United States and Russia about status of American Jews and their passports.

Dec. 11, 1911. Conference of the *Sardâr-i-As'ad* with British and Russian Ministers at the British Legation.—The *Mujtahids* of Najaf and Karbalâ prepare for a *jihâd*.—Feeling runs high in Tihân.—"Russia," according to the *Times*, "regards the existence of the *Majlis* as incompatible with her interests." 4000 Turkish troops reported at Salmâs.

Dec. 12, 1911. Sudden death of Mullâ Muḥammad Kâzîm, the chief Constitutionalist *Mujtahid* at Najaf, on the eve of his departure for Persia.—The *Majlis* still stands firm against acceptance of the Second Russian Ultimatum, and refuses to recognize the new Cabinet (see under Nov. 23, *supra*). Russia sends 800 troops and 10 guns to Khûy.

Dec. 13, 1911. General Gabieff and 4000 Russian troops concentrate at Qazwin.

Dec. 14, 1911. Boycott of British goods at Shirâz.—Resolution of Manchester Chamber of Commerce.—Debate in House of Commons.

Dec. 17, 1911. Samâd Khân *Mumtâz's-Saltana*, the Persian Minister at Paris, said to be working for "a conciliatory settlement of the Russo-Persian conflict."

Dec. 18, 1911. Sollum in Cyrenaica ceded to England (or nominally to Egypt) by Turkey.—The *Majlis* rejects the Cabinet's proposed acceptance of the Second Russian Ultimatum.

Dec. 20, 1911. The Cabinet refuses to resign.

Dec. 21, 1911. By a vote of 39 to 19 the *Majlis* agrees to appoint a Commission of five Deputies to deal, conjointly with the Cabinet, with the Russian Ultimatum.—Fighting between the Russian troops and the Persians breaks out simultaneously at Tabriz, Rasht, and Anzali.—Telegraphic communication with Persia interrupted.

Dec. 23, 1911. Persia accepts and submits to the Russian Ultimatum. Political meetings prohibited in Tihân, and most of the newspapers stopped on Dec. 26. Orders sent to the people of Tabriz, Rasht, etc., to stop fighting. Mr Shuster is notified of his dismissal. Telegraphic communication with Tabriz interrupted. Fresh Russian reinforcements ordered thither.



Dec. 24, 1911. Further severe fighting at Tabriz, which is heavily bombarded by the Russians. The Russian Consul at Rasht assumes control of the town. The *Novoe Vremya* demands "merciless retribution" and "extermination of the *fida'is*," and says that "true humanity requires cruelty."—The Regent, on the advice of the Cabinet, dissolves the *Majlis*. Telegraphic communication with Persia only possible by Suez, and entirely interrupted between Tihra'n and Tabriz.

Dec. 26, 1911. The *Baháristán*, where the National Assembly was wont to sit, is closed and guarded by troops, and the newspapers are suppressed.

Dec. 27, 1911. Attack on a body of Indian troops escorting Mr W. A. Smart to Shiráz. Mr Smart, first reported as killed, was wounded and fell into the hands of the tribesmen, who, on recognizing him, treated him with much kindness and hospitality.—The Tihra'n-Tabriz telegraph worked for a short time to-day.

Dec. 28, 1911. Amánu'lláh Mitrá, Acting Governor of Tabriz, pursued by Russian hatred on account of telegrams sent by him denouncing Russian cruelties, takes refuge in the British Consulate.—Samad Khán *Shujá'u'd-Dawla*, the notorious Reactionary and partisan of the ex-Sháh, prepares, with Russian approval, to enter Tabriz and assume governorship.—The Bakhtiyári *Amir-i-Mujáhid* said to be a candidate for the post of Treasurer-General vacated by Mr Shuster.

Dec. 29, 1911. General clamour in Imperialist Press in Great Britain and India for British expedition to South Persia.—The Russian and British Legations support the candidature of M. Mornard for the post of Treasurer-General, to the great dissatisfaction of Persian and non-official English elements.

Dec. 30, 1911. Press Association telegram from Tabriz saying that "had the *fida'is* continued to fight a day longer, the Russians [*i.e.* those already in the city before the arrival of their reinforcements] would have been overpowered."—Mr Smart reached Kázarán safely.

It is unnecessary to continue this chronology here over the two years (1912 and 1913) which have since elapsed, since this book deals only with events and things belonging to the Four Periods enumerated above, and the second Constitutional Period properly ends with the forcible closure of the *Majlis* on December 24, 1911. The horrors which followed the Russian invasion of Azarbáijan, especially at Tabriz, and inaugurated the gloomy year of 1912 are briefly described in a pamphlet entitled *The Reign of Terror in Tabriz: England's Responsibility* which I published in October, 1912, and I am preparing a larger volume containing much fuller details derived from all available sources. On January 1, 1912, which coincided with the '*Ashura*' or 10th of Muharram (the most solemn day of mourning amongst the Shi'a Muhammadans), ا. ه. 1330, the Russians began a whole series of executions of leading citizens and patriots by publicly hanging on a gallows gaily decorated with the Russian colours eight persons, of whom the most notable were the venerable and learned ecclesiastic *Thiqat-ul-Islám*, chief *muftahid* of Azarbáijan; *Ziyá'u'l-'Ulamá*; *Sádiq'u'l-Mulk*,

a young officer; and Shaykh Salim. Amongst other notable persons hanged by them were the philanthropist Hajji 'Ali *Dawā-farūsh* ("the Druggist"), the poet Mirzā Ahmad Suhayli, and two nephews of Sattār Khan on or about Jan. 6; and the much-respected and trusted Armenian Petros Andreassian some days later. In most cases the houses of the victims were blown up with dynamite by the Russians, who installed as Governor Samād Khān *Shujā'ū-d-Dawla*, with the support of Mr Shipley, the British Consul at Tabriz, and the concurrence of the British Foreign Office. This miscreant tortured, killed and extorted money by methods summarily described in the pamphlet above mentioned. The executions continued in Tabriz at any rate until August, 1912, and similar deeds were done throughout Azarbāyjān. At Rasht the printing-presses were destroyed, the newspapers (some of the best in Persia) were stopped, and a few people were hanged. The unprovoked bombardment and plunder by the Russians of the sacred shrine of the Imām Rizā at Mashhad on March 29, 1912, on which occasion many innocent people, both inhabitants and pilgrims, were killed, was the culmination of these horrors, and produced an indescribably painful impression throughout the Muslim World.

Since the closure of the Second National Assembly at the end of 1911, that is to say for more than two years, rumours have several times arisen that fresh elections were to be held and a new *Majlis* convened. These elections are now actually taking place, except in Azarbāyjān, and it is probable that this year may witness the inauguration of a Third National Assembly, which, however, welcome as it will be to Persia and her friends, will have to face with diminished strength tasks even more arduous and problems even more difficult than those which confronted its two predecessors. For on the one hand many of the most single-minded, able and resolute patriots have been slain or are in exile or in hiding, while full advantage has been taken by Russia during this two years' interregnum (when Persian Cabinet Ministers have hardly been able to hold office, much less act, without the sanction of the Russian and British Legations) to extort confessions of the most far-reaching character as to the making of railways, the exploitation of minerals and fisheries, and other matters, and to saddle the unhappy country with fresh burdens of debt at usurious rates of interest.

Bad as the situation is, however, it is impossible to deny that it might have been worse; Tih-rān has not been occupied by the Russians nor been the scene of horrors such as those perpetrated at Tabriz; the Royal Pretenders Muḥammad 'Ali, *Shujā'ū-d-Sultāna* and *Sā'id-ū-d-Dawla* have for the present ceased to trouble, and have disappeared, it may be hoped for ever, from the political horizon; and the work effected by the new Gendarmerie under the Swedish officers in suppressing brigandage and securing the safety of the roads deserves the fullest recognition and the highest praise. For so much salvage from the general wreck we must be thankful, and for the fact that, however dark the horizon and ominous the outlook, Persia, in name at least, still remains an independent and undivided country.

# INDEX

This Index comprises names mentioned in the Translator's Preface, the Author's Introduction, and the text of the Persian poems contained in Part II, as well as those occurring in the translated portion (Part I) of the book. The prefix *Abū* ("Father of —"), when it occurs in proper names, is sometimes ignored in the alphabetical arrangement, so that, for example, *Abū's-Zayd* may be found either under *Z*, or *A*. Titles, as opposed to names, of persons, as well as titles of books and newspapers, are printed in *italics*. The abbreviation *s.* after the number of a page indicates a foot-note: thus "17 *s.*" means "p. 17, *ad calc.*," while "17 and *s.*" means that the name in question is mentioned on p. 17 and also in a foot-note on that page.

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دقیق مستشرقین و متتبعین ادبیات فارسی را جلب نموده و ملت ایران را نیز  
از صمیم قلب تهنیت میکنم که چنین نوعی بکر معرفت را بمنتهی ظهور  
جلوه آورده است و از خداوند خواهانم که امثال ایشان را بیندازد

در سخا لازم می بینم که تأملات خود را از اینکه نتوانستم همه آثار  
و منظومات شعری این دور اخیر را جمع آوری کنم اظهار بدارم و همچنین  
فریضه ذمه خود میدانم که تشکرات صمیمی خود را بدوستان دور و نزدیک  
که در جمع و ارسال این اشعار معاونت و بذل همت کرده اند تقدیم نمایم  
و از ادبا و شعرا و معارف خواهانم و متسین ادبیات فارسی تمنی  
می نمایم که هر چه از اشعار وطنی و سیاسی و تاریخی و غزلیات و غیرها تا  
کنون بنظم آورده اند یا شنیده اند اگر برای ایشان زحمت نیست مرحمت  
فرموده آنها را بعنوان مخلص بفرستند تا شاید جلد دومی ازین دوره  
ادبیات جنبیده مرتب ساخته برسم ارمغان بنظر مطالعه طالبان علم و ادب  
برسانم چه این کار را برای خود افتخار و شرف بزرگ میدانم عنوان این  
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EDWARD G. BROWNE,  
Pembroke College, Cambridge, England.

January 29, 1914.



از نواید کثیره این انقلاب سیاسی همین بس که چنین ادبیات  
بکری بوجود آورده است که در سایه آن یک خلق جدید و یک مستقبل  
پُر امید ظهور خواهد یافت

ثانیاً از حیث اسلوب نیز این ادبیات جدید یک نازگی و اهمیت  
مخصوص دارد و آن این است که در اغلب اشعاری که درین دور  
جدید سروده اند حقیقت را برای اینکه همه کس بتواند فهم نماید در  
باس هزل و مزاح جلوه داده اند و بنا بر یکی از پرده های موسیقی م  
آهنگ ساخته اند تا باسانی قبول عامه بهم رسانند

بدیهی است که شخص هر قدر دارای اخلاق حمیده و تهذیب نفس باشد  
باز وی را شنیدن عیوب خود بی پرده چندان خوش آیند نخواهد بود و  
حقیقت گویی در وی تأثیری چندان نخواهد کرد ولی در شکل هزل و مزاح  
آنها بمل و رغبت خواهد خواند و البته بی تأثیر م نخواهد ماند

شعراى این دوره که این اسلوب مرغوب را پیش گرفته اند بمنزله  
طیب حاذقی می باشند که مزاج مریض خود را بدست آورده و موافق آن  
ادویه تلخ را با شیرینی آمیخته بمریض بخوراند و یا مانند واعظ که درجه  
ادراك مستمع را درك کرده بقدر فهم او بسادگی تمام مفاسد خود را ادا  
می نماید و عامه ملت خوانده و بحقیقت مسائل سیاسی و وطنی و معاشی  
واقف شوند چنانکه غزلیات و قصائد عارف و اشرف گیلانی و دخو (میرزا  
علی اکبر خان دهندا) و ملک الشعراء بهار و غیرم در سایه این اسلوب  
مرغوب از قراری که می نویسند امروز در نزد خاص و عام مشهور است  
و در محافل میخوانند و با آلات موسیقی می نوازند

این جانب بترتیب این نمونه مختصر از ادبیات وطنی و سیاسی فارسی نظر

همان امواجی است که از قعر دریا و از طغیان باین آن بالا می آید همین  
طور است در انقلابات سیاسی انقلابی که ثمره خوب میدهد انقلابی است  
که در سایه جنبش طبقه عامه ملت بظهور رسد و الا انقلابی خواهد بود  
نا بر و نا بینگام و سطحی که مانند امواج سطحی دریا هرگز آن قوت را  
نخواهد داشت که بنای استبداد و خرافات متراکمه چندین قرن را از بیخ  
بر اندازد

ازین رو طبقه عامه ملت بیشتر از طبقات دیگر باید منظور نظر  
ارباب سخن و واعظین و مخصوصاً شعرا و ادبا باشند و من چنین تصور  
میکم که در عالم ملتی نیست که بقدر ملت ایران محذوب شعر باشد و شعر  
در طبیعت ایرانی جاذبه مخصوصی دارد که کمتر نظیر آن در سایر اقوام  
دیده شده است ازین نقطه نظر شعرانی که اصلاح حال طبقه عامه ملت را  
در نظر دارند مرجع بر دیگران می باشند و میان ایشان و سائیرین که جز  
مدح و اخذ صله هنری دیگر ندارند همان فرق است که میان زاهد خود  
پرست و عالم دانش پرور چنانکه شیخ سعدی علیه الرحمة می فرماید  
گفتم میان عالم و عابد چه فرق بود تا اختیار کردی از آن این فریق را  
گفت آن گیم خویش بدر می برد ز موج وین جهی می کند که بگردد غریق را  
و ما می بینیم که ادبا و شعرای عصر حاضر بین بدین نکته برده اند یعنی  
ابکار معانی را از آن دایره محدوده بیرون آورده و خوان الوان نظم را پیش  
خاص و عام گسترده طبقه عامه را از آن برخوردار کرده اند و اغلب  
موضوعات این ادبیات را از وقایع بومی و راجع به مسائل معاشی و اجتماعی  
گرفته اند که هر يك از افراد ملت میتواند بدون صعوبت درك نماید و اگر  
همین اشعار را که از ابتدای انقلاب ایران تا امروز انشاد شده جمع  
آوری کند تقریباً تاریخ منظوم انقلاب را تشکیل خواهد داد

از بخیری بخیران معذورند' ذوقی است درین باده که مستان دانند'  
 اینك نمونه از ادبیات وطنی و سیاسی را که آثار ثمره انقلاب اخیر ایران  
 باید شمرد برای اثبات عقیده خود بنظر ارباب تنوع می رسانم تا همچون  
 مشکي که بخودی خود هوید آنچه را که من هنوز نگفته در دل دارم بزرگان  
 خود بگویند

این نمونه ادبیات جدیده بخوبی ثابت می کند که روح شعر و طبع سخن  
 پروری در ایران معدوم نشده سهل است که بواسطه سوق این انقلاب اخیر  
 رونق تازه یافته و تأثیر بزرگی در آئینه این ملت بظهور خواهد آورد  
 اگر درست دقت کنیم خواهیم دید که این اشعار جدیده دارای دو صفت  
 ممتاز است که در ادبیات قدیمه موجود نبوده و بهمان نسبت شاید  
 تأثیراتش در طبقه عامه بیشتر باشد

اولاً از حیث موضوع: موضوع اشعار قدما تقریباً عبارت بود از  
 مدایح پادشاهان و بزرگان و غزلیات و اخلاقی و فلسفه و تصوف و آنچه  
 راجع باوضاع و احوال معاشیه برشته نظم در آورده اند هسه کم است اگرچه  
 همین ادبیات مدار افتخار ابدی ایران بوده و زبان فارسی را تا امروز نگاه  
 داشته است ولی از جهت تأثیر خارجی در اوضاع اجتماعی مردم گویا  
 چندان ثمر نداده است زیرا که دائره انتشار آن محدود و تقریباً منحصر  
 بطبقه عالی و عالیه ملت بوده و قوایش تعمیم نداشته است

تجارب تاریخی و جریان اوضاع اجتماعی ملل درین قرون اخیره بخوبی  
 نشان میدهد که مؤثر حقیقی در گردانیدن چرخ حیات اجتماعی يك ملت  
 عامه یعنی طبقات اواسط و ادانی آن ملت است و چنانکه ابواجی که روی  
 دربارا تلاطم آورده و بزرگترین کشتیهارا بازیمه طوفان خود میسازد

### نماینی مخصوص از قارئین ایرانی

مقصود اصلی از جمع و نشر این اشعار آن است که برای برخی از منتسبین ادبیات ایران که اغلب منکر وجود روح ادبی در ایران کسوفی بوده و وجود شعر و شاعری را در این قرون اخیر در آن سرزمین معدوم می پندارند ثابت نمائیم که آن طبع گهربار ایرانی که اشعار آبدار قدیمه را بوجود آورده نمرده است

هنوز گویندگان هستند اندر عراق که قوت ناطقه مدد از ایشان برد بلکه از زیر آن همه ابرهای تاریک که صفحات این مملکت را فرا گرفته باز آن روح فنا ناپذیر مانند آفتابی که زیر ابر نهفته پس از جندی با یک برتو عالمروزی دیگر جلوه گر گشته است

اغلب مستشرقین که رحمت تنوع ادبیات جدید ایران را بخود نداده اند چنین تصور می کنند که طوطی شکر گفتار طبع شعرا و ادبای اعصار گذشته ایران او نطق فرو مانده و چندین قرن است که درین چمن خزان دیده بلبل برترم نیامده و شاید م هیچ نخواهد آمد ولی این جانب که از سی و سه سال بدین طرف عمر خود را صرف تحصیل این زبان کرده و بواسطه کثرت معاشرت با آقایان ایرانی تا اندازه با اشعار و ادبیات جدید مربوط شده و جاشی آنرا چشیده با این عقیده اشتراک ندارم و قبول آنرا دور از انصاف و حقیقت میدانم و کسانیرا که بر حسب عدم اطلاع چنین عقیده اظهار میدارند معذور میدانم و عدم الوجدان لیس دلیلاً علی عدم الوجود را

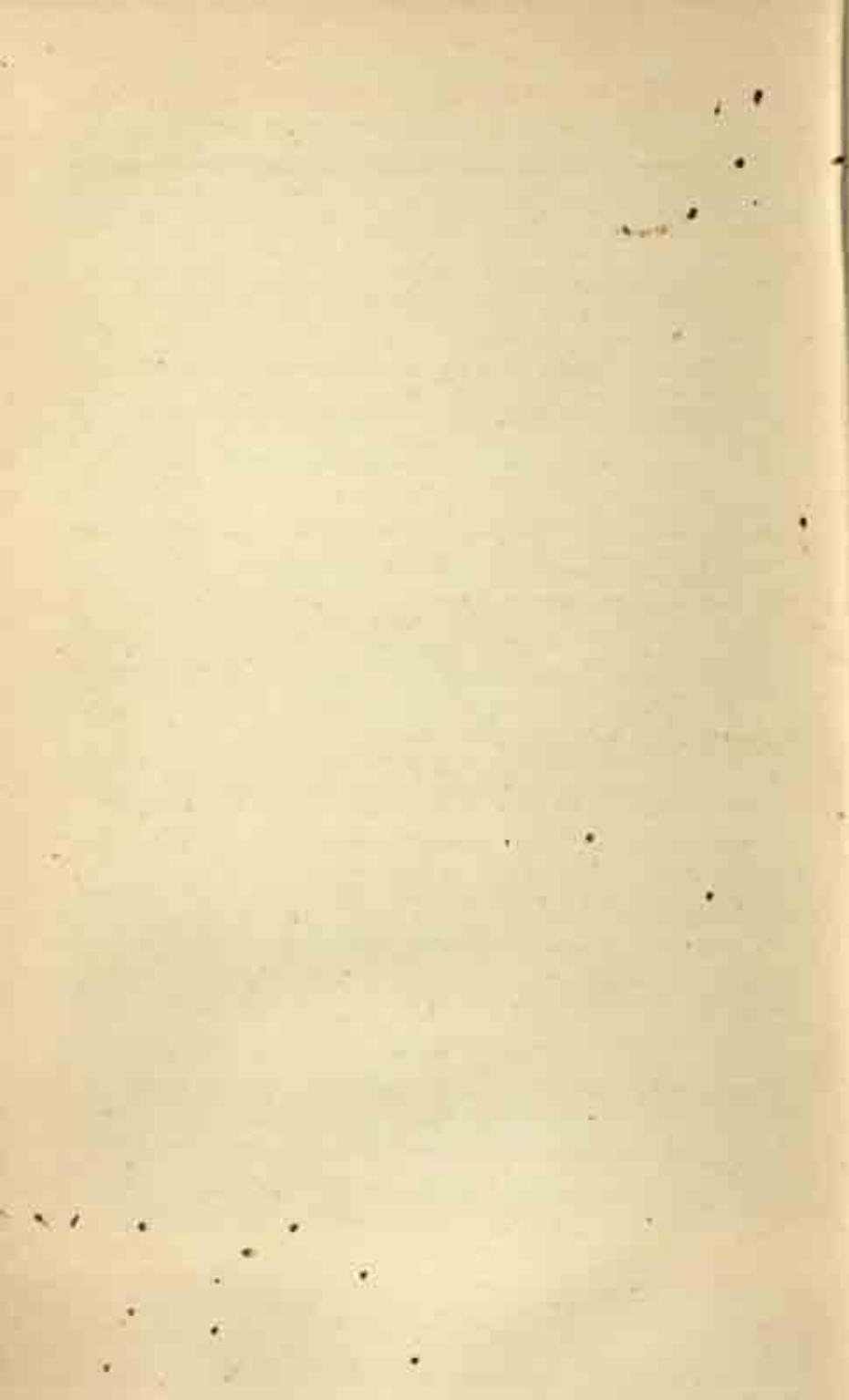
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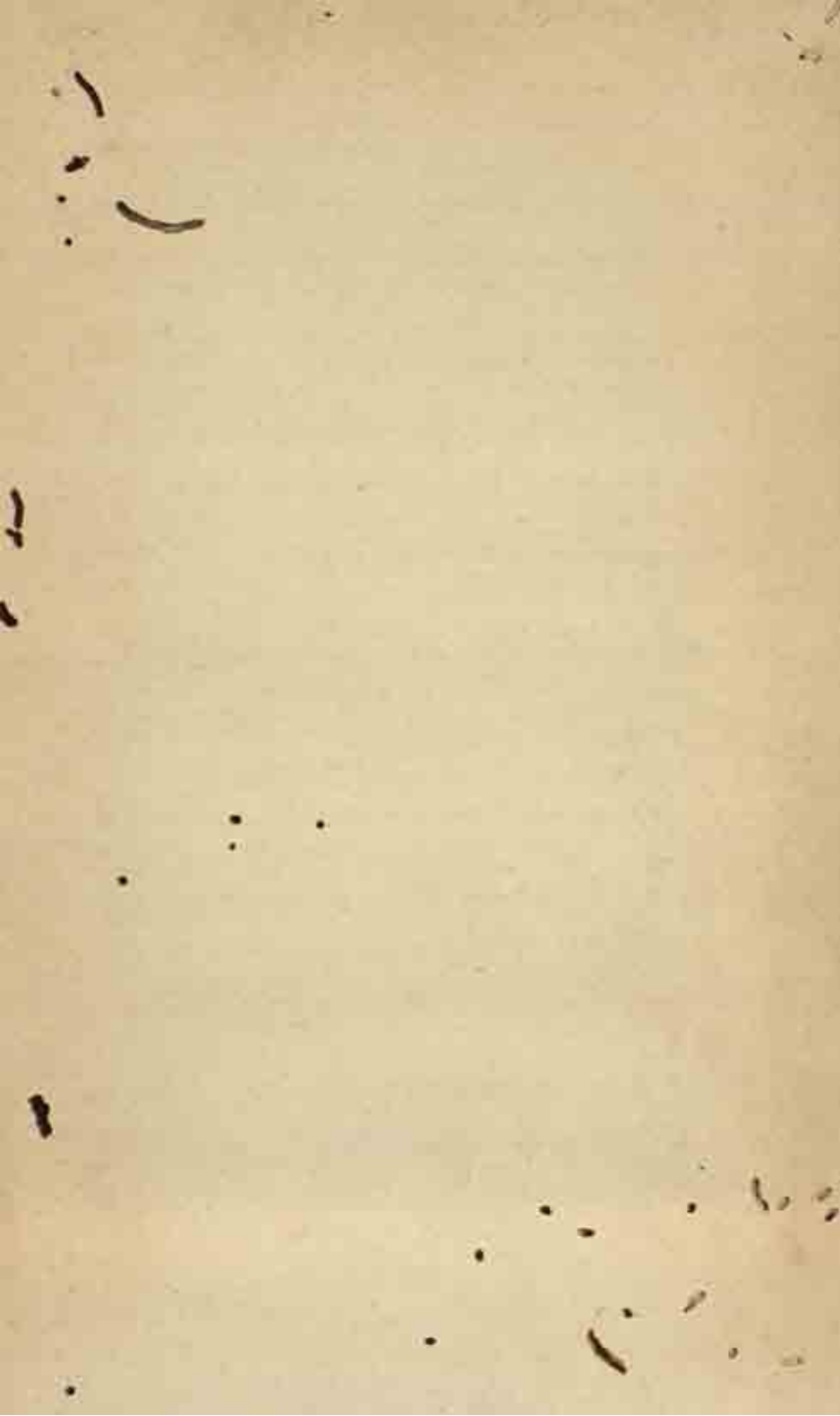
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